PROFESSIONAL AUTHORITY AND THE PROTESTANT MINISTRY:
A STUDY OF AN OCCUPATIONAL IMAGE

Hoyt P.eder Oliver

A Dissertation
Presented to the Faculty of the
Graduate School of Yale University
in Candidacy for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

1967

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

What does it mean to speak of the ministry as a "profession"? The major purpose of this study was the development of a theory on the basis of which this question could be explored.

Authority was selected as the key issue through which significant comparisons might be made between the ministry and other occupations known as professions. The kinds of authority exercised by persons in positions of responsibility are indicators of the normative images governing the actions and relationships of these persons in their interactions with others.

Three conceptual patterns were developed as working tools: the professional pattern in which the "professional characteristics" mentioned in the sociological literature are held together in a normative balance of tensions; the pattern of the structure of the authority relationship which serves as a device for differentiating between types of authority; and the action field pattern.

The action field pattern is a "field theory" adaptation of Talcott Parsons' general theory of action. The image is that of an action space in which there are exerted upon the actor pulls toward pattern-maintenance, integration, goal-attainment, and adaptation. As actors move in various directions in the balance of tensions between these four pulls, differing authority-patterns are generated.

In the major analytical section of the study, the action field theory was used for the interpretation of differing patterns of ministerial authority under the headings of the "four criteria of institutions": legitimation, status, situations faced by authority bearers, and sanctions available to them and to others. It was found that ministers act within an action field structured by tensions built into the Christian faith and the normative roles of the minister.

The action field theory proved useful for the interpretation of differing patterns of answers given by ministers to the questions of the Danforth Ministry Survey (as yet, unpublished), a part of the Danforth Study of Campus Ministries. Patterns of theological beliefs and of role-preferences showed a normative holding-in-tension of differing pulls within the minister's faith-pattern and action-pattern; there were identifiable extreme clusterings at the four poles of the action field.

Traditional and more recent images of the status of the minister were also shown to be explicable in terms of the action field theory, as were ministers' successes or failures in situations such as the Little Rock school integration controversy.

As the patterns of ministerial authority analyzed in Part Two of the study were pulled together, the judgment was made that ministers do not operate by "professional authority" in the sense of authority based on an esoteric theory held in common by a group of trained experts. Nevertheless, it was found to be possible and significant to speak of the ministry as a profession, and this analysis seems to have opened up further avenues for exploration and to have provided a compass for the trip.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my appreciation to Dr. Kenneth W. Underwood, Director of the Danforth Foundation Study of Campus Ministries, for his guidance in the writing of this study and for his making available to me some of the unpublished data from the Ministry Survey which was a part of the larger Study of Campus Ministries. Dr. Jeffrey K. Hadden, director of the Ministry Survey, was also most gracious in arranging for computer analysis of the data which I use to illustrate the action field theory in Part Two of this study.

The interpretations I make of the data of the Danforth Ministry Survey are my own, and do not represent official findings of the Study of Campus Ministries.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

INTRODUCTION 1

PART ONE. CONCEPTUAL PATTERNS

Chapter

I. THE PROFESSIONAL PATTERN 6

II. THE CONCEPT OF AUTHORITY 30

III. THE ACTION FIELD 66

PART TWO. PATTERNS OF MINISTERIAL AUTHORITY

IV. THE LEGITIMATION OF THE MINISTER'S AUTHORITY . . . 105

V. THE MINISTER'S STATUS 141

VI. SITUATIONS FACED: THE MINISTER'S ROLES 164

VII. SANCTIONS: RESOURCES AND CONTROLS OF THE MINISTER'S ACTION 202

PART THREE. THE MINISTRY AND THE PROFESSIONAL PATTERN

VIII. THE MINISTRY AND THE PROFESSIONAL PATTERN 231

BIBLIOGRAPHY 276

APPENDIX: THE DANFORTH MINISTRY SURVEY 294

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure Page

1. An Image of the Professional Pattern 23
2. The Structure of the Authority Relationship . . . 48
3. Types of Social Influence 59
4. Professional Authority 61
5. The Components of Action Systems 79
6. The Action Field 95
7. Relationships of Ministerial Roles in the Action Field Pattern 170
8. Styles of Ministerial Roles in the Action Field 187
9. Ministers' Enjoyment of Their Roles 201

INTRODUCTION

Over the course of history the ministry has been called several things: an order, a priesthood, an office, an inner calling. Such images as these have reflected patterns of relationships between ministers and other men, and have expressed expectations of the actions in which ministers are supposed to engage.

For the last three hundred years the ministry has been called a profession, along with medicine and law. Today there are many professions, and the term "professional" is used for almost any paid expert.

My purpose in this study is to examine the appropriateness of using the professional image for the Protestant ministry in an age when both the meaning of "profession" and the work of the minister are undergoing rapid change. I had intended to compare the ministry in some detail with other occupations known as professions. But as I began to explore the issue, I found that the task of developing a theory on the basis of which to make such a comparison was in itself of sufficient magnitude to occupy the whole of a dissertation. What I believe I have accomplished is the outlining of this theory and a preliminary application of it to the work of the Protestant minister; what facts I introduce about other professions are used mainly for illustration.

I have chosen to approach the question of the ministry as a profession through the concept of authority, for several reasons: first, because authority as "an accepted right to direct the behavior of others" is a phenomenon found not only in occupations but also in other patterns of human relationships; second, the form of authority established in an occupation is a key to the distinctive values, goals, working relationships, and norms of that occupation; and, third, authority is a concept narrow enough and yet specific enough to serve as a basis for making meaningful comparisons between occupations.

Authority is itself a problematic concept, however, unless it can be understood in the context of a more inclusive theory of human action and relationships. As such an inclusive theory, I have adapted from Talcott Parsons' general theory of action an image of the "action field" in which persons respond to the pulls upon them from the directions of four normative functional problems of action-in-relationship: pattern-maintenance, integration, goal-attainment, and adaptation. These may be conceived as opposite poles in a "balance of tensions" within which the choices persons make of one direction over another will bring into being different structures of authority.

The study is divided into three major parts: conceptual, analytical, and evaluative. In Part One I develop three conceptual patterns: the professional pattern (Chapter I), the authority-relationship (Chapter II), and the action field (Chapter III). These patterns are devices for portraying how the several characteristics of professions, authority, and action are not random but fall into certain normative relationships.

In Part Two I use the action field theory for the analysis of patterns of ministerial authority under the headings of Parsons' four criteria of institutions (authority is an "institution"): legitimation, status, situations faced by authority-bearers, and sanctions available to them and to those with whom they interact. Under each criterion I show that there is for ministers a "balance of tensions" within which they must act; and I indicate the kinds of choices ministers make of the different poles of these tensions. In Chapters IV and VI my illustrative data are drawn from the answers ministers gave to the questions of the Danforth Foundation Ministry Survey;[1] since the survey instrument did not contain the kinds of materials I needed for the discussion of the criteria of status and sanctions, in Chapters V and VII I make use of materials from other sources.

In Part Three (Chapter VIII) I pull together the pattern of ministerial authority developed in its separate aspects in Part Two, and raise the question of what it means to speak of the ministry as a profession. I make the judgment that ministers do not act by professional authority--the authority of independent experts trained in an esoteric theory which they possess exclusively--but that it is appropriate and helpful to picture the ministry as a profession if the special characteristics of the ministry are taken into account. This conception of the ministry as a profession has certain implications for the ways Protestant ministers are trained and the ways they exercise their ministry.

---

[1] See Appendix for a copy of the survey instrument, with a brief explanation of the Danforth Campus Ministries Study of which the Survey is a part.

The reader will have less difficulty and more enjoyment in reading this dissertation if he bears these things in mind:

a) The several figures or patterns are important; they pull together into comprehensive form the concepts presented in the text.

b) The theory with which I am working is a "field theory" wherein there are pulls from four directions at once and the components of the patterns have meaning only in relation to their neighboring and opposite components, for there are certain kinds of tensions operating between these components. This means that when the reader comes across patterns in the text he should let his eyes move from corner to corner and side to side instead of from left to right or around the circle of the pattern.

c) The concepts of the action field theory are "chameleon concepts": that is, the meaning given to them depends upon the context in which they are being used at a particular point in the discussion.

d) I do not postulate an equilibrium state of the action field as normative or desirable. The normative and desirable state is for the tensions of the field to be in full operation.

PART ONE

CONCEPTUAL PATTERNS

CHAPTER I

THE PROFESSIONAL PATTERN

Can the ministry be called a "profession"? There is dissension among ministers over whether the term is one by which they want their work described.[1] But many urge that the ministry ought to become more professionalized, that it should take on the high standards of other professions.[2] It has even been observed that the ministry was once a profession but is so no longer: Carr-Saunders and Wilson, while recognizing that divinity was at one time either the only profession or the basis on which other professions were built,[3] omit the ministry from their study of professions

> . . . because all those functions related to the ordinary business of life, education among them, which used to fall to the Church, have been taken over by other vocations. The functions remaining to the Church are spiritual, and we are only concerned with the professions in their rela-

---

[1] Robert S. Paul, Ministry (Grand Rapids. Michigan: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1965), pp. 120, 132.

[2] See Walter D. Wagoner, Bachelor of Divinity: Uncertain Servants in Seminary and Ministry (New York: Association Press, 1963), p. 52; Van A. Harvey, "On Separating Hopes from Illusions: Reflections on the Future of the Ministry," motive, Vol. XXVI (November, 1965), pp. 4-6; W. Carey McWilliams, "The Marks of a Profession," Chapel and College (Spring, 1963), pp. 9-17; and Osmund Schreuder, "Le caractère professionel du sacerdoce," Social Compass, Vol. XII, No. 1-2 (1965), pp. 5-19.

[3] A. M. Carr-Saunders and P. A. Wilson, The Professions (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1933), p. 294.

tion to the ordinary business of life.[1]

There seems to be a general consensus among those who speak of the ministry as a profession that it is, in H. Richard Niebuhr's phrase, "the perplexed profession."[2]

The question of the appropriateness of the professional image for the ministry is especially pertinent today when "everywhere in American life, the professions are triumphant."[3] Professions are performing many of the most important functions of the society, and the trend is toward increasing professionalism.[4] William J. Goode cites as two indices of this trend the increasing proportion of the labor force in white-collar (i.e., professional or semi-professional) jobs and the number of occupations trying to acquire the symbols of professional status.[5]

---

[1] Ibid., p. 3.

[2] H. Richard Niebuhr, The Purpose of the Church and Its Ministry (New York: Harper & Row, 1956), pp. 48ff.

[3] Kenneth S. Lynn, Introduction, Daedalus: Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, XCII, 4, The Professions (Fall, 1963), p. 649.

[4] Everett C. Hughes, "Professions," ibid., p. 655. See also T. H. Marshall, "The Recent History of Professionalism in Relation to Social Structure and Social Policy," The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, V (August, 1939), pp. 325-334; and Talcott Parsons, "The Professions and Social Structure," in Essays in Sociological Theory (rev. ed., paperback; New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, A Division of The Macmillan Company, The Crowell-Collier Publishing Company, 1964), p. 34.

[5] William J. Goode, "Encroachment, Charlatanism, and the Emerging Profession: Psychology, Sociology, and Medicine," American Sociological Review, XXV, 6 (December, 1960), p. 902. See also Theodore Caplow, The Sociology of Work (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1964; cop. 1954, University of Minnesota Press), pp. 19-25.

What, then, is a "profession"? Howard Becker believes that the image of a "profession" is mainly a "folk symbol" expressing the desirability and prestige of an occupation, not an objective image by which professions can be clearly distinguished from non-professions.[1] Becker's observation is a sound one as far as the general public is concerned, for the term profession is quite loosely used today. There do seem to be some popular agreements on the meaning of the folk-symbol; these show up most clearly in the common uses of the term professional. In a broad sense, a "professional" is any expert who does for pay what others--"amateurs"--might also do, but not for pay. Thus there are "professional" football players, musicians, plumbers, and repairmen. These are persons with special know-how or skills acquired through training in a particular art or craft. There is an implied value-judgment in the use of professional as an adjective--a reference to the style of someone's work as being especially competent, efficient, and skillful.

Another popular understanding of the term professional is its reference to a recognized member of one of a number of occupational groups which have been accorded or have assumed the title of profession. Because these occupations bearing the title of profession have such high social visibility and prestige, there is a great deal of discussion in occupational and sociological circles about what the marks of a profession are. James Luther Adams' definition of a profession incorporates almost all the marks mentioned in the literature:

---

[1] Howard Becker, "The Nature of a Profession," in Nelson B. Henry, ed., Education for the Professions, The Sixty-first Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part II (Chicago: The National Society for the Study of Education, 1962), p. 28.

> No authoritative or pervasive set of criteria obtains whereby we can distinguish professions from other occupations. . . . But we must adopt for our purpose a general, if loose, definition. Accordingly, let us say that a profession includes these features: it performs a unique and essential social service; it requires a long period of general and specialized training, usually in connection with a university; it presupposes skills that are subjected to rational analysis; service to the community rather than economic gain is supposed to be a dominant motive; standards of competence are defined by a comprehensive self-governing organization of practitioners; a high degree of autonomy is presupposed for the individual practitioner and for the professional group as a whole; some code of ethics is adumbrated by the professional group for the performance of its service.[1]

Adams' definition is descriptive, rather than polemical. But the classic definition of the marks of a profession, which has set not only the tone of much of the discussion but also the standards toward which emerging professions have aspired, was given by Abraham Flexner in 1915--and Flexner was explicitly attempting to distinguish genuine professions from other occupations. He described professional activity by six "objective criteria"--it was

---

[1] James Luther Adams, The Social Import of the Professions: An Address given at the Twenty-First Biennial Meeting of the American Association of Theological Schools, Boston University School of Theology, June 17-20, 1958, pp. 5, 6. Compare the definitions given by Talcott Parsons (Essays in Sociological Theory, p. 372); Bernard Barber ("Some Problems in the Sociology of the Professions," Daedalus, XCII, 4, pp. 671-72); Lloyd E. Blauch (Education for the Professions, org. and ed. Lloyd E. Blauch; United States Dept. of Health, Education, and Welfare [Washington: Government Printing Office, 1955], pp. 1-8); and Morris L. Cogan ("Toward a Definition of Profession," Harvard Educational Review, XXIII [Winter, 1963], pp. 48-49).

> basically intellectual, carrying with it great personal responsibility; it was learned, being based on great knowledge and not merely routine; it was practical, rather than academic or theoretical; its technique could be taught, this being the basis of professional education; it was strongly organized internally; and it was motivated by altruism, the professionals viewing themselves as working for some aspect of the good of society.[1]

But then Flexner drastically qualified his objective criteria by saying that what mattered most was professional spirit and that any activity may be prosecuted in the genuine professional spirit. This "professional spirit" seemed to mean for Flexner a combination of unselfish devotion to service and a respect for high standards of practice.[2]

Much of the ambiguity and confusion in the discussion of the nature of professions seems to arise from the fact that, while the contributors to the discussion all deal with the same general marks of a profession, they seldom point out the kind of approach they are taking toward defining a profession--nor do they often say why they are making the attempt at definition. The same marks or characteristics will mean different things when used in different approaches for different purposes.

There seem to be in the literature three broad classes of approaches toward the definition of professions: (a) the historical; (b) the structural-functional, or operational; and

---

[1] Abraham Flexner, "Is Social Work a Profession?", in Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction (Chicago: Hildmann Printing Co., 1915), pp. 578-581; cited in Howard Becker, "The Nature of a Profession," in Henry, ed., Education for the Professions, p. 28.

[2] Ibid.

(c) the philosophical approaches. The historical approach recognizes the existence of occupational groups called professions and of a general agreement on their characteristics, and then seeks to discover how these characteristics have emerged in the history of the professions. The operational approach concentrates on the organization and activities of professional groups, dealing with such matters as the work performed by professionals, the grounding of this work in theoretical disciplines, the organization of professional groups with requirements for training and membership, and the relationships between these groups and the public. The philosophical approach seeks consensus on the "meaning of profession" and works toward portraying a model of a profession abstracted from the several particular professions.

In the usual definition of a profession, these three approaches are mixed. Furthermore, regardless of which approach or combination of approaches is taken, the definition may be used for any of several purposes, among them (a) describing certain occupational groups; (b) distinguishing professions from other occupations; or (c) prescribing what a genuine profession ought to be. Again, it is difficult to find a definition in which all three of these ends are not present to some degree, manifest or hidden.[1]

---

[1] Morris L. Cogan speaks of three levels of definitions: historical and lexicographical, persuasive, and operational. ("The Problem of Defining a Profession," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. CCXCVII, Ethical Standards and Professional Conduct [January, 1955], pp. 105-111.)

Another difficulty arises when one seeks to analyze any particular occupation in reference to these definitions of profession. In the typical definition, certain marks or characteristics of professions are listed, but there is little indication of how these marks are interrelated in an occupational Gestalt or pattern which is characteristic and normative for groups called professions. I believe that an image of such a pattern may be formulated, and that this image may serve as an analytical tool for discerning the implications of conducting an occupation as a profession. After brief discussions of how certain characteristics have emerged during the development of the professions and how the operational and philosophical approaches to the definition of a profession are referring to the same characteristics in different ways, I shall present this image of the professional pattern as a way of picturing the interrelatedness of professional characteristics.

The Historical Development of Professions

A. Special Functions, Skills, and Tradition

The prototype of the professional was probably the medicine man, the person who was set apart to perform special functions for the group because of his skills, his knowledge of traditional lore, or his connection with sacred powers. He performed "technical functions," that is, it was his special actions which were important in times of crisis or special need. His knowledge was passed down to him as a closely guarded mystery, and his skills were trained through apprenticeship.[1]

The physician and the priest share a common ancestor in the "medicine man" whose function was not only to exercise special skills but to mediate between men and the supernatural. Priestly and medical practitioners later shared the form of the sacred school or brotherhood organized to transmit received knowledge and use it in practice.[2] Lay or "secular" schools of medicine, mathematics, astronomy, philology, and law began to separate out from the "sacred" schools, following individual discoveries supported by rational theory.[3] The Greeks in particular made considerable progress in the development of theoria, a reasoned rather than a traditional basis for the practice of occupations such as medicine. During the height of the Roman Empire, some centers of theoretical instruction were available in cities such as Pergamum and Alexandria.[4]

B. "Profession": Learning and Organization-- The Learned Professions

The term profession, though it is derived from the

---

[1] See William J. McGlothlin, The Professional Schools (New York: The Center for Applied Research in Education, Inc., 1964), pp. 1-2, and Florian Znaniecki, The Social Role of the Man of Knowledge (New York: Columbia University Press, 1940), p. 11.

[2] Znaniecki, pp. 92-99.

[3] Ibid., pp. 115-117.

[4] John S. Brubacher, "The Evolution of Professional Education," in Henry, ed., Education for the Professions, pp. 47-50.

Latin, was not used before the later middle ages to refer to occupational groups. The adjective professed, according to the Oxford Shorter Dictionary, originally meant "having taken the vows of a religious order"; by 1675 it had been secularized to mean "that professes to be duly qualified: professional."[1]

Professions as organized vocational groups developed out of the church, the university, and the guilds. The Church had long been the prime embodiment of an order, an association of members under vows, in which the right to priestly practice was limited and controlled. Following the eleventh century, the associational form swept through Europe; among the associations were guilds of persons performing special functions, arts, or crafts. Formal license to practice a craft or function became the rule.

The universities which appeared in Europe around the end of the twelfth century were guilds of masters and students organized for the pursuit of learning and for controlling the granting of licenses to teach. These universities were organized for the most part about the "higher faculties" of Law, Medicine, and Theology, built upon a liberal-arts base, the Faculty of Philosophy. The Church controlled most of the universities, with the exception of some such as Bologna in Italy. This meant that all of the students were in clerical orders of one sort or another--a "clerk" was a student who might or might not go on into the specifically religious service of the Church.[1]

---

[1] Hughes, "Professions," Daedalus, XCII, 4, p. 656.

The occupational groups to which Addison referred as the "three great professions of Divinity, Law, and Physick" soon had become so influential that Bacon complained that among the great colleges there was none left free to arts and sciences at large--they were all devoted to professions![2] These learned professions ordinarily required study in the higher faculties of the university; they were regulated, granting professional licenses and degrees; and they had begun to develop strong public images.

Two changes in the linkage of the professions with the Church and the University began to take place before the Industrial Revolution. First, the professions of law and medicine began to be secularized when it became possible to earn a living in practice outside of church benefices. Second, new professions developed from guilds of craftsmen or tradesmen outside the university--in England, for example, this was the case for the surgeons and apothecaries as distinct from the physicians. The guild of lawyers who practiced common law also provided for training through the Inns of Court outside the university.[1]

---

[1] A. M. Carr-Saunders and P. A. Wilson, "Professions," in Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, ed. Edwin R. A. Seligman and Alvin Johnson (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1934), Vol. XII, p. 476.

[2] For the development of the learned professions, see Carr-Saunders and Wilson, The Professions, Part II, pp. 289-294; Caplow, The Sociology of Work, pp. 182ff; Brubacher, "The Evolution of Professional Education," in Henry, ed., Education for the Professions, pp. 50-52; and Hastings Rashdall, The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages (3 Vols.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1895), Vols. I and II, passim.

The three learned professions were in effect occupations of members of the "learned class." Practitioners were by no means technical experts alone--they were expected to take a large part in the political, ecclesiastical, and economic affairs of the nation.[2] The pattern of liberal higher education which was imported from England to the colonies was actually a pre-professional curriculum for all three occupations. Except for those students fortunate enough to be able to go to Europe for further training, specific professional skills were learned through apprenticeship under older practitioners with whom young men could also "read law" or divinity or medicine. These learned professionals in colonial America were, to a degree, interchangeable; the minister had, for example, to have some practical knowledge of medicine and law, and professionals moved with ease from one calling to another.[3] They were not yet organized into professional associations--their common membership in the learned class and their common citizenship were the bonds uniting them in attitudes and practices.

---

[1] Carr-Saunders and Wilson, The Professions, pp. 291-294.

[2] *Ibid*., p. 295.

[3] See Daniel J. Boorstin, The Americans: The Colonial Experience, pp. 56-58 (cited by Lynn in Daedalus, XCII, 4, p. 653); and Brubacher, "The Evolution of Professional Education," in Henry, ed., Education for the Professions, pp. 56-58.

C. The Scientific and Industrial Revolutions: Changes in the Professions--Professional Associations and Rise of New Professions

The industrial and scientific revolutions brought changes in the conception of the nature of a profession. Whereas the body of knowledge considered necessary for the practice of a profession had up to this time generally consisted of traditional theory, the new understanding came to be that theory could be formulated inductively from experiments. Professional skills had been regarded as an art to be learned through practice, but with the impact of the Industrial Revolution new skills and techniques were linked with the invention and use of new technical devices.

Two kinds of associations began to arise: the learned societies gathered for the exploration of knowledge in various fields, and the associations of persons practicing the same techniques in fields such as engineering. These study societies and occupational associations developed into professional associations as they took on the functions of protecting the public image of practitioners, passing upon the competence and honor of members, providing for licensing, and furthering the development of the theory underlying practices.[1]

Pharmacy, engineering, architecture, nursing, surveying, and accounting were among the new occupations which became recognized as professions during the nineteenth century. These and other new professions seem to arise from one or more of three bases: (a) some new theory may be proposed, and associations are formed to practice techniques based upon it--for example, psychoanalysis based upon the work of Freud; (b) a new technique or instrument may demand training in its use, and the trained persons form professions--computer programmers, for example, are striving to become a profession; or (c) persons engaged in the same occupation may organize themselves and seek to systematize the theory and skills involved in their work in order to limit practice to qualified persons--librarians have been going through this process.

---

[1] Carr-Saunders and Wilson, The Professions, pp. 298-304.

The Uniqueness of Professions

As the professions developed into identifiable occupations, they came to manifest a number of characteristics in common. Most of the definitions of professions which have been formulated are attempts to use certain ones of these characteristics for the purposes of identifying occupations as professions or distinguishing professions from non- or pseudo-professions.

All of these definitions either state or take for granted that for a profession to exist, it must have some sort of formal or informal license to earn a living by certain kinds of practices.[1] There is also general agreement that professionals provide certain technical services for which they have been trained: Carr-Saunders and Wilson, for example, define the chief distinguishing characteristic of the professions as "the application of an intellectual technique to the ordinary business of life, acquired as the result of prolonged and specialized training."[1]

---

[1] Everett C. Hughes, Men and Their Work (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1958), Chapter VI, "License and Mandate," p. 78.

But these things might be said also of technicians who may or may not be members of a "profession." For distinguishing professions from other occupations, say several writers, another "core characteristic" must be present--a collectivity or service orientation.[2]

This combination of an operational characteristic (training) with a philosophical or ideological characteristic (service orientation) is typical of the usual definitions. Some of the marks of professions listed in the definitions are primarily operational: organization, licensing, training, the performance of practical or technical functions. Some are primarily expressive of a philosophy of profession: dedication to service, ethical standards, great knowledge and skill, loyalty to the work above all. Still others reflect the ideology of professionalism, the image professionals want the public to have of them: professionals are to be trusted because they are the experts; professional autonomy is to be guaranteed; professionals' performance is to be judged by their colleagues. It would be rather futile to separate out operational from philosophical or ideological "marks" and try to use them for identifying professions, because the actual working agreement between an occupational group and its society which is the basis of a profession is a complex of organizational arrangements, philosophical norms, and public images.

---

[1] Carr-Saunders and Wilson, The Professions, p. 491. (We may assume that the technique, not the ordinary business of life, is acquired through training.)

[2] Goode, "Encroachment, Charlatanism, and the Emerging Profession," op. cit., p. 903; Ralph W. Tyler, "Distinctive Attributes of Education for the Professions," Social Work Journal, XXIII (April, 1952), pp. 52-62, 94, cited in Becker, "The Nature of a Profession," in Henry, ed., Education for the Professions, p. 29; and Harold L. Wilensky, "The Professionalization of Everyone?", The American Journal of Sociology, LXX (September, 1964), p. 138.

The differences between professions and other types of occupations can be better appreciated if the discussion is placed first in the wider context of the characteristics which professions as occupational groups share with other groups in a society. One basic concept in this wider context is differential responsibility, which is simply the understanding that various kinds of things need to be done, not everyone can do all of them, so broad agreements are worked out as to who is to do them, why, and how they are to be done.[1] The concept of differential responsibility applies not only to occupations but also to such social institutions as government, families, education, and churches.

For patterns of differential responsibility to be established, there seem to be several general conditions which must be met:[2] (a) there must be delineated some particular area of needs; (b) some kind of general theory must be formulated concerning how these needs are to be understood and how they may be met; (c) some techniques must be developed for putting the theory into practice; (d) some kind of association of persons charged with responsibility for action in this area must be formed; (e) this association must be granted (formally or informally) by society some kinds of rights to monopoly of practice; and (f) there must be developed some guides for relationships between the group and society and between group members.

---

[1] See Parsons, "A Revised Analytical Approach to the Theory of Social Stratification," Essays in Sociological Theory, pp. 386-439.

[2] These conditions need not be met in this particular order, and how far they are satisfied will be a matter of degree.

Seen from this perspective, the "professional characteristics" point to the patterns of differential responsibility worked out for the professions within the society. These characteristics may be seen as the normative conditions under which the profession maintains its public image and its license to practice. Thus, if the society grants the profession the mandate to deal with a significant area of culture, the profession must provide services in that area; if the profession is granted a monopoly of practice, it must set high standards of training for practitioners; if it is granted a high measure of autonomy, it must govern its behavior by ethical standards in order not to be exploitative. It is questionable, for example, whether persons who enter the professions are naturally more altruistic than others--but the professions are so organized that altruism is a requisite for their continued license, and this altruism is strongly built into the professional image and trained into the neophytes.[1]

It is possible for this bargain between society and the profession to work in the other direction as well; an occupation may claim that its public service, high training standards, and ethics entitle it to autonomy, monopoly, and mandate over an area of culture. These are claims usually made by occupations in the process of "professionalization."[2]

It is not the several characteristics of professions which make them unique--each of the characteristics listed in the definitions of professions is shared by more than one other kind of occupational or non-occupational group. What distinguishes a profession from other kinds of occupations is, rather, the particular pattern in which these characteristics are combined and held in tension. This pattern reflects the working agreement between the profession and the public; it symbolizes the norms which the professional group follows in its internal organization; and it serves as a guide for the individual practitioner's actions and relationships with clients.

---

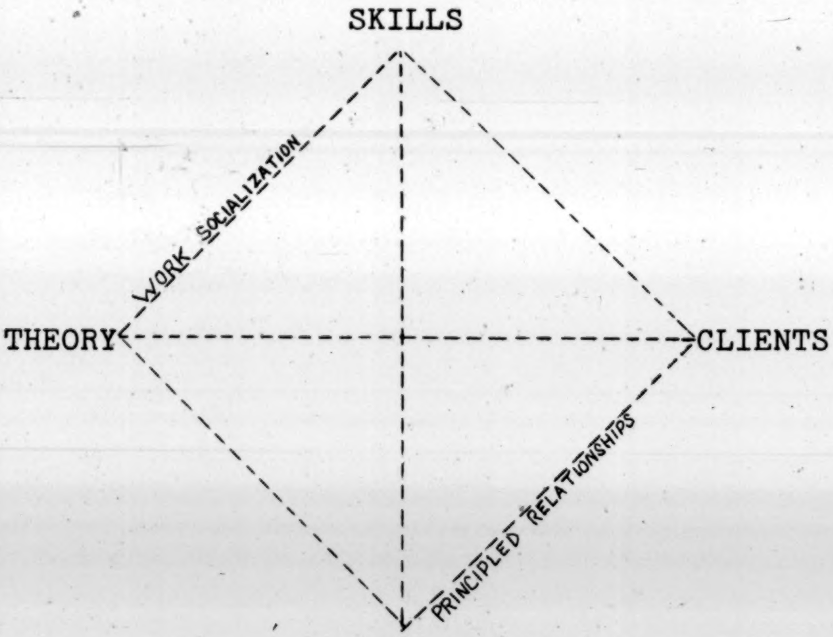
[1] See Parsons, "The Professions and Social Structure," Essays in Sociological Theory, Ch. II, pp. 34-49.

[2] Caplow says that the process of professionalization consists of these steps: (a) establishment of a professional association; (b) change of name, asserting monopoly; (c) promulgation of a code of ethics; (d) political agitation to get public support for new occupational barriers--all accompanied by training, establishment of privileges, and development of working relations (The Sociology of Work, pp. 130-140; compare Hughes in Daedalus, XCII, 4, pp. 658-662, and Goode, "Encroachment. . . ," p. 903). Wilensky says this process ought not to be called "professionalization" and says that stages of development for an established profession are: (a) becomes full-time occupation; (b) establishes training schools; (c) establishes professional associations; (d) gets license laws; (e) establishes formal code of ethics ("The Professionalization of Everyone?", p. 143). Rue Bucher and Anselm Strauss point out that the professionalizing process is fraught with conflict ("Professions in Process," The American Journal of Sociology, LXVI, 4 [January, 1961], pp. 325-334).

An Image of the Professional Pattern

The professional pattern which may be discerned in the history of the professions and in the discussion of the characteristics of professions may be presented in schematic form:

Figure 1: An Image of the Professional Pattern



The four components of this diagram--theory, skills, clients, and professional association--represent the professionsl pattern viewed structurally; that is, while other occupations may have some of these same components, this particular combination of them seems to be characteristic of the professions. The figure may be used on this level to understand how occupations become professions by starting with one or two of the components of the professional pattern and moving to include the others: engineering, at first a rule-of-thumb practical art, began to organize and to develop basic theory to support its practices; management is moving from an associational base to develop theory and specify skills. Likewise, if a profession overemphasizes one component to the detriment of the others, it is changing toward another occupational pattern: a profession, or groups within it, could move toward becoming a business (emphasis upon the association); a research science or an ideology (emphasis upon theory); a craft or technique (emphasis upon skills); or a service-occupation (emphasis upon client's desires).

But the possession of these four components does not of itself make an occupation a profession. The particular arrangement of the components in the figure, with the flows between them indicated by the dotted lines, is important. The "marks of a profession" are expressions of this arrangement and these flows; on the figure I have indicated only the two most often mentioned "core characteristics," training and ethics, as the processes by which a practitioner enters his work (work socialization) and is guided in his relationships with clients and colleagues (principled relationships). (The reason for the arrangement of the components in this specific pattern of juxtaposition will appear in the discussion of professional authority in the next chapter.)

The analysis of the structure and function of the professional pattern still does not capture the "feel" of a profession, that hardly definable quality which Flexner called professional spirit. To understand this quality, one must picture the professional pattern as dynamic rather than static; the figure should be seen as something like the field established between the poles of four magnets, each exerting pulls of varying strength upon the professional. The practitioner must operate within the balance of tensions which is the professional pattern. By "balance" of tensions, I do not mean to say that the proper position for the professional is one of equilibrium in the middle of the pattern; rather, I mean to indicate that the four components of the pattern--theory, skills, clients, and professional association--each exert legitimate and necessary claims upon the practitioner, and he must be able to balance these claims against each other in such a way that he is neither torn apart nor captured by the demands exerted upon him from any one direction.

There is actually only one basic tension in the pattern, but it may be seen in three forms: (a) the tension between the universal and the particular; (b) the tension between theory and practice; and (c) the tension between the group and the individual. This three-in-one tension is present between any two of the four components of the pattern, as indicated by the "lines of force" drawn between each component and the other three. There are thus six links in the figure where the tension could be pointed out and discussed; I shall illustrate only three of them, the links where the tension takes each of its three forms in most characteristic fashion.

First, the tension between the universal and the particular is most clearly represented by the cultural claims of theory and the individual claims of clients. A profession has been granted responsibility for maintaining and developing a primary area of the culture of the society; but its members are to meet the specific needs of persons and groups in the society in relation to this area of culture. The standards of the profession must take account of both of these responsibilities, using the legitimacy of the claim from one side to counter the illegitimacy of a claim from the other. An excellent example of this balance is seen in medical ethics: (i) a doctor is not to experiment upon a person without that person's consent, however important the experiment might be for the advancement of medical science (primacy of responsibility for the client); (ii) but a doctor is not to put an end to a person's suffering by killing him, however much it might seem like the most humane thing to do (primacy of the interests of medical standards at large).

Second, the tension between the theoretical and the practical is represented by the profession's joining of theory and skills. A profession is not a craft, that is, an organization of persons with trained skills alone; it seems proper to reserve the term profession for occupations where skills are based upon some generalized body of knowledge. But neither is a profession a science, charged with the development and propagation of theory alone; there must be some sort of practical applications of theory. Furthermore, both theory and skills must be inculcated through a process of work socialization in some form of professional training carried out under the direct or indirect supervision of the profession itself. The tension between theory and practice appears most radically in the differences of opinion, interest, and advancement between the practitioners in the field and the theoreticians in the professional schools. There is, moreover, within the typical professional school, a continuing disagreement over how much attention should be given to basic theory and how much to basic skills, with different factions in the faculty devoting their primary attention to theory or to practice, seldom to both at once.

Third, the tension between the group and the individual is present in the relationships of practitioner to professional association, association to client, and individual practitioner to group client. Where society at large is thought of as the "group," the profession then may be seen as the "individual"--this is the area where ideology and organization become inextricably mixed, as in issues such as the measure of autonomy a profession is to be granted, the type of relationships between professionals and clients, professional remuneration, licensing, and professional confidences. In a broad sense, the society is a "client" of the professions to which it has given mandates over certain areas of action. It is not unusual in this relationship for there to be raging conflicts of interest such as that between the American Medical Association and the public over the issue of subsidized health care.

The standards of a profession must be so worked out as to keep the tensions of the professional pattern alive, rather than sacrificing one responsibility for others.[1] Yet it must not be supposed that the professional pattern is made up only of a combination of dilemmas. The other important way of viewing the figure of the professional pattern is to see it as a unity, a way of holding together various resources for action. Because a profession is a specialization, its particular combination of theory and skills, organization and training, autonomy and responsibility provides for disciplined action toward the achieving of important goals. "Professional spirit" is the result of a person's having internalized the values served by his profession and the knowledge and techniques necessary for action. This unity-through-specialization can also, of course, be a serious limitation of professions. As Whitehead observed,

> Each profession makes progress, but it is progress in its own groove. Now to be mentally in a groove is to live in contemplating a given set of abstractions. The groove prevents straying across country, and the abstraction abstracts from something to which no further attention is

---

[1] Merton gives some twenty-one examples of seemingly contradictory norms by which the doctor must operate! (Robert K. Merton, George G. Reader, M.D., and Patricia L. Kendall, The Student-Physician: Introductory Studies in the Sociology of Medical Education [Cambridge, Mass.: Published for The Commonwealth Fund by Harvard University Press, 1957], pp. 73-75.)

> paid. . . . Of course, no one is merely a mathematician, or merely a lawyer. People have lives outside their professions or their businesses. But the point is the restraint of serious thought within a groove. The remainder of life is treated superficially, with the imperfect categories of thought derived from one profession.[1]

Thus the professional pattern is a specialization, a drawing together of knowledge and skill, organization and training, for the effective provision of action on behalf of others whose needs may be met effectively through this discipline of concentration upon specific functions. But the pattern must not become a cage--it is a dynamic _field_, and the lines of force flow into and out of it from and to the whole wider field of human interrelatedness.

---

[1] Alfred North Whitehead, _Science and the Modern World_ (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1925), pp. 275-276.

CHAPTER II

THE CONCEPT OF AUTHORITY

> Any occupation wishing to exercise professional authority must find a technical basis for it, assert an exclusive jurisdiction, link both skill and jurisdiction to standards of training, and convince the public that its services are uniquely trustworthy.[1]

The professional image represents the professions as occupational groups which have been assigned specific and important responsibility for certain kinds of action in society. But what are the differences in patterns of responsibility between professions and other groups? Why are professional actions approved, professional services desired? What kinds of relationships are formulated between professions and society?

One important concept for understanding structured relationships between groups or individuals exercising responsibility and the groups and persons with whom they interact is the concept of _authority_. Authority may be broadly defined as _an accepted right to direct the behavior of others_. As such a social agreement, authority is one way in which differential responsibility is _ordered_ and _linked with action_. Involved in the concept of authority are reasons for the assignment of responsibility, the defining of persons' positions, specification of the types of action they are to take, and the controls over their action. The pattern of authority established for the professions will thus be a significant indicator of the kinds of social action which are uniquely "professional."

---

[1] Wilensky, "The Professionalization of Everyone?", _The American Journal of Sociology_, LXX, 2 (September, 1964), p. 138.

In this chapter I shall deal first with authority as an *institution*, a complex of norms defining expected patterns of behavior. I shall employ Parsons' *four criteria of institutions*--legitimation, status, situations faced, and sanctions--as a device for examining the various aspects of authority. These aspects will then be drawn together in a conceptual image of the *authority relationship* which will be used for (i) differentiating authority from other types of social control; (ii) distinguishing types of authority; and (iii) presenting *professional authority* as one special kind of authority.

Authority as a Social Institution

In its several uses, the term *authority* may refer to certain *patterns* of relationship in which one person or group is expected to direct the behavior of others--this is authority as a type of *social institution*. It may refer to the *right* possessed by someone to direct others' behavior in certain areas--this is authority as a *symbol* for a social working agreement. It may refer to the *quality* of someone's action, as when it is remarked, "He speaks with authority"--this captures the *feel* of authority, its air of being something special and out-of-the-ordinary. Finally, it may refer to *persons* or groups themselves, as in statements such as "You should show respect for the authorities," or "He is an authority on the subject."

It is important for the sake of clarity to specify in which of these ways the term is being used. The working definition which was proposed above--an accepted right to direct others' behavior--exemplifies the second of these meanings of authority. The first meaning is seen in a definition by Parsons--he says that authority may be conceived as

> an institutionalized complex of norms which do not involve the prescription, permission, or prohibition of particular acts, but which on a general level define the conditions under which, in the given social structure and given statuses and situations within it, acts of others within the same collectivity may be prescribed, permitted, or prohibited.[1]

The difference in these two definitions is mainly a difference in points of view: Parsons' definition speaks of authority as it appears to the observer of a society, mine of authority as it appears to the members of the society. Both definitions, however, are operational; that is, they define authority in reference to the structuring of social relationships and actions.

How is the authority-relationship to be pictured? Kenneth D. Benne presents a structural model of the authority-relationship as a triadic one constituted between a facilitating bearer of authority, a dependent (but active) subject, and a field of the operation of authority in some measure mutually defined.[1] The relationship is built by both the bearer and the subject of authority; the field is defined in part at least by the need of the subject and the competence of the bearer.[2] Types of authority will be differentiated according to the relative importance and kinds of interrelationships of field, bearer, and subject; yet in no authority relationship will any of these three components be unimportant.

---

[1] Talcott Parsons, "Authority, Legitimation, and Political Action," in Carl J. Friedrich, ed., Nomos I: Authority (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, for The American Society of Political and Legal Philosophy, 1958), p. 205. An "institution," as Parsons uses the term, is not an organization such as a church or a corporation, but a generalized pattern of norms which define categories of behavior in social relationships for people in interaction with each other as members of their society (ibid., p. 203).

Parsons' paradigm for the analysis of patterns of authority is also a structural one; but it further takes into account the functional aspects of authority, that is, the processes by which authority is established and exercised:

> As in the case of any other institution, a pattern of authority will be defined by reference to the four criteria . . . : (1) legitimation in terms of the general values of the society; (2) status in the system of roles or collectivities to which it is applied; (3) the type of situation with which authority-bearers are expected to be faced; and (4) the sanctions which on the one hand are at their disposal, and on the other hand can be brought to bear by others in relation to their action.[3]

There are major reasons why authority must be conceived as both a structural and a functional concept: first, while authority is a pattern of normative relationships, it can be observed only in action; second, while legitimacy, statuses, role-expectations, and available sanctions may be regarded as components of an authority-pattern, they are also processes by which authority is established (legitimation and the assigning or achieving of status) and guided or controlled (defining of situations to be dealt with and ways in which authority is to be aided or limited).

---

[1] Kenneth D. Benne, A Conception of Authority: An Introductory Study ("Teachers College, Columbia University, Contributions to Education," No. 895; New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1943), p. 72.

[2] Ibid., p. 84.

[3] In Friedrich, ed., Authority, p. 211.

These four criteria of institutions may be used in two ways: first, as a paradigm for organizing the discussion of the nature of authority and drawing it together into a conceptual image of the authority-relationship and, second, for making distinctions between patterns of authority.

Authority and the Criteria of Institutions

A. Legitimation

There is general agreement in the literature that authority as a type of social control is marked by a quality of rightfulness or legitimacy. This is because authority must always be understood within the context of social order--in this context "legitimacy is a name for wide, enduring recognition, for law, stable order, and 'habitual obedience'."[1] Legitimation, then, is the process by which actions are established as rightful--as Parsons defines it,

> Legitimation . . . is the appraisal of action in terms of shared or common values in the context of the involvement of the action in the social system.[2]

---

[1] George E. Gordon Catlin, "Authority and Its Critics," in Friedrich, ed., Authority, p. 138.

[2] Parsons, "Authority, Legitimation, and Political Action," ibid., p. 202.

In terms of the working definition of authority with which we began, the criterion of legitimation refers to the reasons why authority is accepted and granted as a right: it has to do with the _sources_ of authority. Among such sources of authority are the _transcendent and the traditional_, _the community and the law_, _reason_, and _qualities of persons_.

1. The Transcendent and the Traditional

During most of Western history, authority implied a _transcendent reference_ to a divine Source of Authority beyond (or before, above, or behind) all particular bearers of authority. These _derived_ their authority from the Source and their actions were recognized as rightful for this reason.[1] This source might be the God from whom authority-bearers received personal or official authority; or it might be the divine _founder_ of the society. It was through this latter understanding that the concept of _auctoritas_ arose in the Romans' thought. The _auctoritas_ of the Roman elders, the Senate or the _patres_, was a derivative authority based on their transmitting (_traditio_) the authority of the divine foundation of the city--they "augmented" (_auctoritas_ has this meaning) the sacred founding.[2] The Romans thus established a "trinity" of _tradition_, _authority_, and _religion_ and when one of these was doubted, the other two did not last long.[1]

---

[1] Charles W. Hendel, "An Exploration of the Nature of Authority," in Friedrich, ed., _Authority_, pp. 6, 8; Frank H. Knight, "Authority and the Free Society," _ibid_., pp. 70-71.

[2] Hannah Arendt, "What Was Authority?", _ibid_., pp. 84, 99-101; Norman Jacobson, "Knowledge, Tradition, and Authority: A Note on the American Experience," _ibid_., pp. 114-115.

Arendt maintains that this form of authority, which was not authority in general but a specific form of authority, has vanished from the modern world.[2] The "feel" of respect for the transcendent and traditional qualities of authority is still present to a large degree; but the reference of these qualities is no longer to a supernatural source or a sacred founding but to the sanctity of the deepest collective values (things thought of as most desirable and essential for the continued existence of the society).

In another sense, the transcendent aspect may be understood to be present in all authority relationships, in the reference to a wider context than the immediate context of the relationship of bearer and subject of authority. The immediate context determines the exercise of authority, but it does not determine the legitimacy of authoritative action. Legitimation is a process of justification of action by reference to something which "transcends" it, whether this be a wider realm of values or relationships, the past and future as transcending the present, or any number of wider contexts. This process of justification is always present, consciously or unconsciously, in the minds of the bearer and the subject of authority. The wider contexts involved would appear in the answers given if the bearer of authority were asked, "By what right did you take this action?", and the subject were asked,

---

[1] Arendt, ibid., p. 105.

[2] Ibid., p. 84.

"Why did you accept his authority?"

2. The Community and the Law

Two important sources of legitimation of authority are membership in a community and the processes of law. These are usually intermingled and are separable only for analytical purposes; but they represent different kinds of legitimation or sources of authority. Analytically, membership in a community may be said to be a *personal* and *private* source of legitimation, processes of law an *impersonal* and *public* source; the authority of a parent within the community of the family and the authority of a policeman within the civic community are respective examples. Authority of which the primary source is community membership is legitimated mainly by *who* the authority-bearer is and by the type of relationships existing within the community to which members share a common loyalty. Authority of which the primary source is the law is legitimated by *what the authority-bearer represents* and by the *procedures* by which he has been selected to occupy his position.[1] Benne characterizes these two types of authority as "pedagogical authority," or the *authority of the community* whose relationships and values enclose the individual,[1] and the authority of the rules of the game where the rules themselves function as the authority (unless the players decide to change the rules or stop playing the game).[2]

---

[1] These two sources of legitimation would correspond roughly to what Herbert J. Spiro calls *substantive* and *procedural* sources of authority for non-specialized policy ("Authority, Values, and Policy," in Friedrich, ed., *Authority*, p. 53), or to the types of authority-relationships established in a *Gemeinschaft* and a *Gesellschaft*, respectively (Ferdinand Tönnies, *Community and Society* [*Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*], trans. and ed. Charles P. Loomis [cop. 1957, The Michigan State University Press; New York: Harper Torchbooks, The Academy Library, Harper & Row, Publishers, 1963]).

In democratic political thought, law and community membership are the primary bases of legitimation, and each is necessary to the other. They are joined even in the patterns of authority within private associations, so that it is more relevant to ask which source is more prominent in an authority pattern than it is to ask which one of them is operative.

3. Reason

The reasoned aspect of the legitimation of authority is important because values are linked with actions through cognitive interpretations of the world and life in it. Friedrich argues that authority is a quality of communications issued by certain persons and acted upon by others when it is believed that these communications could be supported by reasons based upon shared beliefs, opinions, or values: "Authority rests upon the ability to issue communications which are capable of reasoned elaboration."[3] This does not mean that authority depends upon the communicator's having given his reasons, but upon the potentiality for reasoned elaboration possessed by his communications.[1]

---

[1] Benne, A Conception of Authority, Chapter V, pp. 70-113.

[2] Ibid., Chapter IV, pp. 49-69.

[3] Carl J. Friedrich, "Authority, Reason and Discretion," in Friedrich, ed., Authority, p. 29.

Certain types of authority are uniquely legitimated by the superior knowledge or reasoning of the authority-bearer. This is the case in what Benne calls the "authority of the expert." Within the triadic authority-relationship of bearer, subject, and field of authority, the authority of the expert is characterized by the _independence of the field_ from the will of the bearer--the field exerts authority over him and so, derivatively, over the subject.[2] The expert functions as an authority so long as he is regarded as competent to make statements in a given field of knowledge.[3] Because the potentiality for reasoned elaboration upon which his authority rests is related to _general_ opinions, beliefs, and values, it is possible for him to lose his authority when these general groundings of his special knowledge lose their validity.[4]

4. Personal Qualities

There appear to be instances where there is no process of legitimation present at all, and no source of authority other than the personal magnetism of the person who bids others to comply with his suggestions or commands. Bertrand De Jouvenel argues that this is authority in its _pure form_--that authority is essentially the phenomenon of bidding by one person and compliance by others. "Where A has no means of bribing or threatening and no prestige built up by any accessories, where B complies, there is a pure relation of authority."[1] This relationship of pure authority is found at the inception of a body politic of any kind--an individual takes the initiative, calls others together, and prevails upon some of them to join him.[2]

---

[1] _Ibid_., p. 35.

[2] Benne, _A Conception of Authority_, Chapter III, pp. 34-48.

[3] _Ibid_., p. 46.

[4] Friedrich, "Authority, Reason, and Discretion," in _Authority_, pp. 38-39.

While De Jouvenel's argument is helpful in that it points to the importance of the qualities of the authority-bearer himself, I would disagree with his analysis of the "pure relation of authority." Authority, I would argue, always involves some third factor other than the bearer and the subject of authority, and it is by reference to this third factor (which may be a complex of factors) that authoritative action is legitimated. If this third factor is not apparent on the bearer's side of the authority relationship, then it is certainly operative, manifest or hidden, on the side of the subject. It is better, I believe, to classify De Jouvenel's "pure form of authority" as what will subsequently be called "influence in the strict sense." There is no doubt that the quality or style, the charisma of a person's action strongly color his authority and serve as an important source of that authority; the question is only whether these personal qualities in themselves, without reference to some wider context involving both the person and those whom he influences, can generate what may properly be called authority.

---

[1] Bertrand De Jouvenel, "Authority: The Efficient Imperative," ibid., p. 161.

[2] Ibid., p. 162.

B. Status

The criterion of legitimation refers to the reasons why authority is accepted, the linking of actions with values. The criterion of status deals with the processes through which authority is allocated to certain bearers.

A status is, by definition, not a person but a position which a person occupies in patterns of relationships. Statuses are, in essence, collections of rights and duties which pertain to certain positions regardless of who occupies the positions. The ways in which these rights and duties are to be performed are called roles; the two terms, status and role, are respectively the structural and functional ways of looking at the same phenomenon.[1]

The assigning of authority to persons in certain statuses is in the first place a way of differentiating responsibility so that necessary tasks are accomplished. In the second place, authority-statuses are both symbolically and functionally representative of the unity of the group. The essential function of authority, Simon observes, is to assure the "unity of action of a united multitude."[1] Authority-statuses are legitimated by the values of the group:

---

[1] On status and role, see Logan Wilson and William L. Kolb, Sociological Analysis: An Introductory Text and Case Book (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1949), p. 208; Ralph Linton, "Status and Role," ibid. (reprinted from The Study of Man), pp. 211-223; and Talcott Parsons, The Social System (paperback ed.; New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, A Division of The Macmillan Company, The Crowell-Collier Publishing Company, 1964), pp. 25-26.

> Authority is concentrated at those points where the dominant values of a group or society are reflected in the most representative fashion. These are the points where decisions are made which are accepted by those who will be affected by their consequences.[2]

And authority is oriented toward the goals of a group; authority may be thought of as "the complex of institutionalized rights to control the actions of members of the society with reference to their bearing on the attainment of collective goals."[3]

Not all authority-bearers, of course, are responsible for the policy-making functions of society and its various groups. Authority statuses may be defined by rights and obligations which range from the broad and diffuse to the narrow and specialized. There are a number of factors according to which statuses will vary, among them the pattern of the relationship in which authority is to be exercised; the type of group of which the authority-bearer is a member, with its dominant values and orientation to certain types of action; the processes by which the individual achieves or is assigned his status within the group, and the types of action in which he is expected and allowed to engage.

---

[1] Yves Simon, Nature and Functions of Authority (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1940), p. 18.

[2] Spiro, "Authority, Values, and Policy," in Friedrich, ed., Authority, p. 50.

[3] Parsons, "Authority, Legitimation, and Political Action," ibid., p. 210.

The term status may also be used within the context of the analysis of social stratification, where it refers to a person's "place in society" defined by measures of prestige, rights, leadership, and privileges. The positions (statuses in the first sense above) which he occupies in various relationships will all contribute to his general status; furthermore, prestige gained from one position will carry over to another position, so that the authority of any particular status will not be a matter only of the rights and duties involved but also of the interrelationship of the one position with others which the same person occupies. A man may speak as an authority in his particular field or position, but he will act with authority in many different contexts because of the authority gained through his particular statuses.

The images of occupations or positions within society will be made up of a mixture of these two connotations of status. Thus the title of "professional" is desired by occupations not only because it denotes the functional status of "independent expert," but because "professionals" at present have a great deal of prestige in the society.

C. Situations Faced

Patterns of authority will be characterized by varied role-expectations, that is, complexes of norms governing when authority is to be exercised and what types of action are to be taken. Authority, like other patterns for the structuring of action, should be thought of as purposeful, established for achieving certain ends. It appears as a "saving power" to meet some felt need, public or private.[1]

The defining of role-expectations is a process carried on between authority-bearers and various reference groups, groups of persons who have some interest in the kinds of action which are to be taken. Role-conflict appears when there are contradictory expectations on the part of these groups. A key factor in patterns of authority will be the degree of clarity of role-expectations involved. The achieving of this clarity is always an involved process--and it is a continuing process, as role-definitions must be adapted to changing circumstances.

There will be differences between patterns of authority according to the relative prominence of status or role criteria in defining the situation of action. For authority which is oriented to the integration and maintenance of groups, the positions of bearers of authority are likely to be strongly supported, but the functions they are to fulfill will be only broadly defined; the role-definition of a king, for example, is expressed in such general images as "father and leader of his people." But the predominant type of authority in modern civilization is functional authority, where the positions of people are governed by what they do. Authority is not an inalienable possession of authority-bearers; for this type of control to be authority it must be accepted, and one of the primary bases of acceptance is likely to be judgments of the performance of the bearers.

---

[1] Hendel, "An Exploration of the Nature of Authority," in Friedrich, ed., Authority, p. 5.

Between patterns of functional authority, there will be another distinction according to whether the types of situation with which the authority-bearers are expected to deal are specified primarily by legal agreements or by the particular qualifications of the persons involved. These two bases of legitimation are usually combined, of course, but the relative predominance of each may be seen in the differing authorities of "line" and "staff" personel in corporations.[1] A legislator and a doctor alike perform specific functions, but the one is elected and the other is trained to fulfill his functions.

D. Sanctions

The criterion of sanctions has to do with the power involved in authority. This power appears in two forms: the resources available to authority-bearers for enforcing their commands and achieving goals, and the controls exerted by persons in authority over others, and vice versa. These two forms are the positive and negative sides of the same factor--accepted rights of control will be resources for making action effective, resources such as position or means of force will help to enforce controls.

---

[1] Parsons observes that Max Weber confuses these two bases of legitimation in his analysis of "legal-rational" authority; authority based on occupancy of a legally-defined office and authority based on technical competence are two different kinds of "functional superiority." (In Introduction to Max Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, trans. A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons, ed. Talcott Parsons [cop. 1947, Oxford University Press; paperback ed., New York: The Free Press, 1964], footnote 4, pp. 58-59.)

Authority is not simply power in general; it is approved power, exercised in accord with conventions established between persons.[1] Sanctions, then, will be expected types of behavior--responses of persons in the relationship to the actions of others involved. What are role-expectations to one party will be sanctions to the other, and vice versa.[2] The types of behavior set by convention in authority patterns will serve as a power-resource for the implementing of policy, but they will also serve as limitations on the power of authority-bearers.

There may or may not be sanctions involving the use of force or coercion attached to authority; there can be authority without force, but also force without authority.[3] The distinction between force and authority is in the legitimacy factor, the rightfulness of the control exercised by the person in authority. The power of authority will depend upon its being accepted by its subjects and having attached to it agreed-upon ways of enactment of policy.

The sanctions actually operating in a pattern of authority are not all formal ones; the unspoken assumptions about what is expected and what is or is not permissible carry a great deal of weight, and are potent factors in times of crises in the stability of the pattern. In such times, the scope of the authority involved has to be spelled out or defended, and the links appear between individuals in authority and various groups which serve as power resources for that authority. Authority is a power-relationship which has rarely been set up without struggle, and it cannot be maintained without having at least the availability of power-resources in cases where it is challenged.[1]

---

[1] Catlin, "Authority and Its Critics," in Friedrich, ed., Authority, pp. 129, 131.

[2] Parsons, The Social System, p. 40.

[3] Catlin, op. cit., p. 136.

On the other hand, not all power is authority. Paul M. Harrison points out how in the free church tradition (where the local congregation is the only recognized "authority") denominational executives and specialists develop power that is often greater than the "authorized power" of their counterparts in other denominations. These church employees develop arguments for the *legitimacy* of their power which are variations on the types of legitimation analyzed by Weber: Harrison calls these variants rational-pragmatic, quasi-charismatic, and mimetic-traditional justifications of power.[2]

---

[1] Parsons says that "full-blown" authority involves the right to use coercive sanctions: "In so far as influence on the action of others in the system becomes an institutionalized expectation of a role, we have the roots of authority. Authority, finally, is full blown when this institutionalized expectation comes to include the legitimation of 'coercive' sanctions, that is, the right to impose consequences deprivational to alter in case he fails to act as ego has an institutionalized right to expect he will." ("A Revised Analytical Approach to a Theory of Social Stratification," *Essays in Sociological Theory*, p. 392.) This indicates that power is not all concentrated on one side of any authority-relationship, since both sides may exert sanctions.

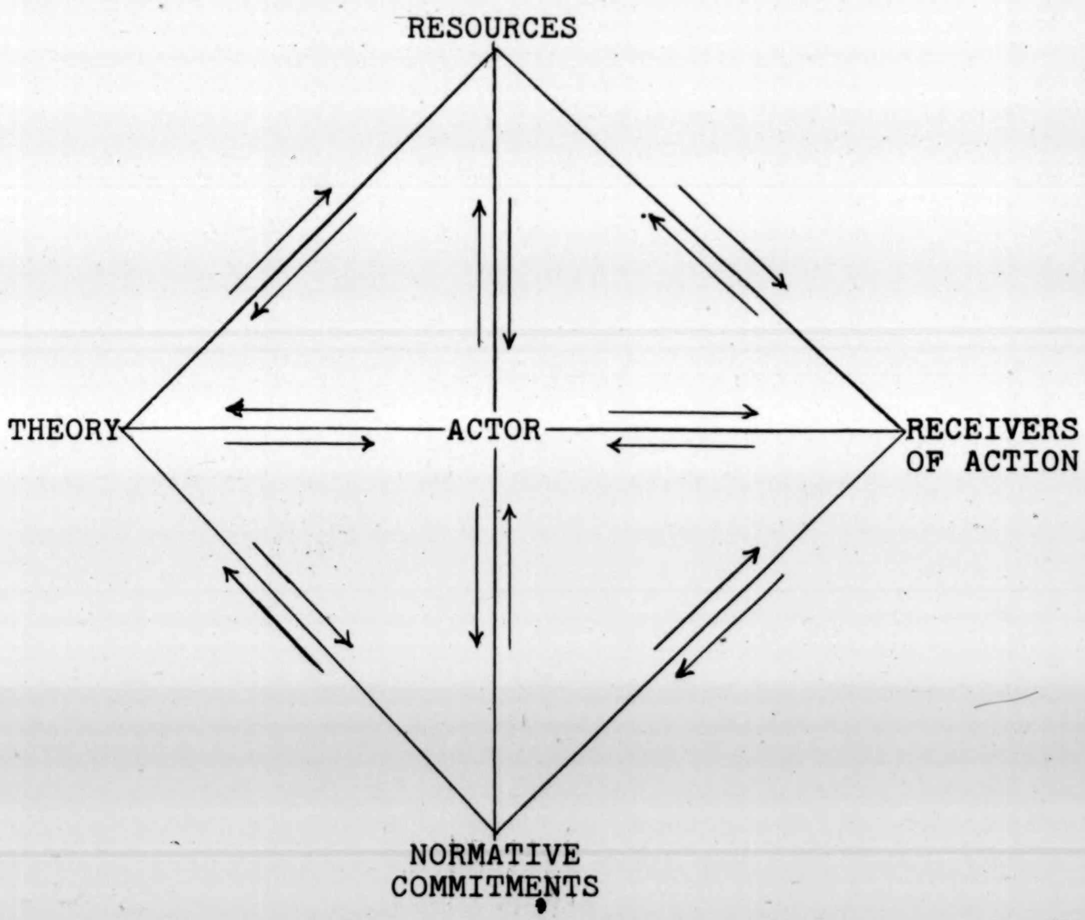
[2] Paul M. Harrison, *Authority and Power in the Free Church Tradition: A Social Case Study of the American Baptist Convention* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1959). See discussion of Weber's types of authority, below, pp. 52-57.

4

The Structure of the Authority Relationship

Authority has been presented as a type of power relationship governed by the four criteria of legitimation, status, situations faced by authority-bearer, and sanctions. The correlation of these criteria in the structure of the authority relationship may be schematized in this way:

Figure 2: The Structure of the Authority Relationship



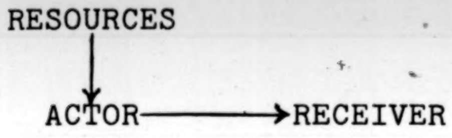
In this figure, the actor is the person (or group of persons) holding and exercising authority. The receivers of action are (i) those under authority or (ii) those on behalf of whom or for whom action is taken. The term normative commitments represents the sources of authority--the established values, laws, shared memberships, and traditions with reference to which action is legitimated. The term theory stands for the cognitive interpretation of the field of authority. The resources are things which are needed for the implementation of action; they might thus include knowledge, skills, legal rights or positions, wealth, command of force, and so on.

The arrows in the figure represent the processes by which authority is established, maintained, exercised, and controlled. The figure as a whole represents the processes of all of the four criteria: the legitimation of action, the structuring of statuses, the defining of role-expectations, and the establishing and use of sanctions. Within the figure, the arrows pointing toward the actor represent the establishing of authority; those pointing away from the actor represent the exercise of authority. The relationship of the actor to the other components of the figure is the status aspect of the pattern; the directions of flow from and through the actor to the receivers of action within the pattern represent the situations dealt with, or role-expectations.

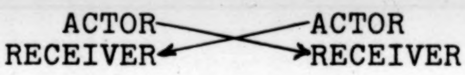
This figure is intended as a conceptual device to be used in conjunction with the criteria of institutions for the analysis of different patterns of authority. It adds nothing to Parsons' paradigm, but serves to correlate his criteria and make graphic the structure of the authority-relationship.

Authority and Other Types of Influence

The figure of the structure of the authority-relationship may be used to illustrate two types of social influence or control which should be distinguished from authority:



(Coercion)



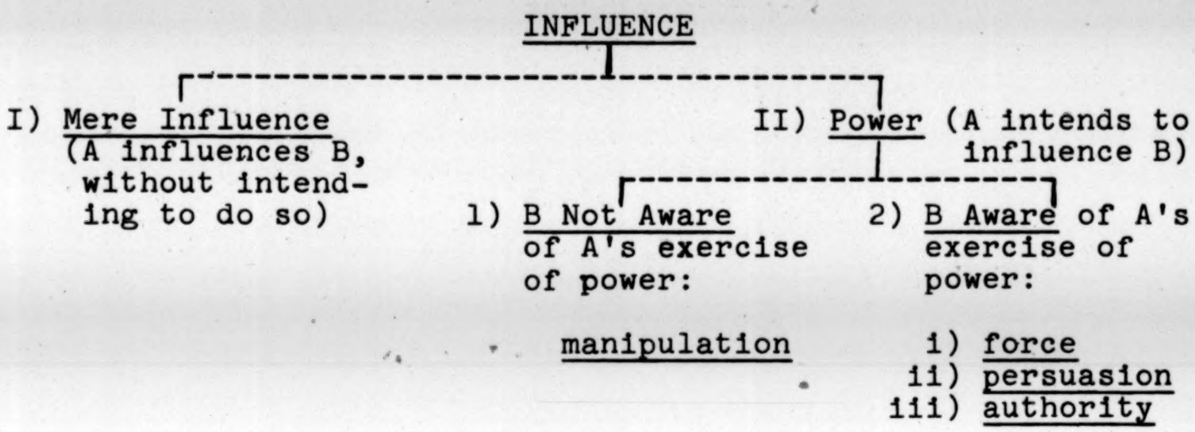
(Mutual Influence)

The essence of coercion (which may take the forms of manipulation, the use of physical sanctions, etc.) is that the actor is in possession of superior resources which he uses as a means to control the behavior of others. The "receiver" of this action may or may not submit to the actor's use of force, but he does not accept the action as rightful. This is the missing factor which would make this kind of control into authority. What is lacking in mutual influence is the authoritative status of one of the parties over the other; there is no normative expectation that one person will direct or control the behavior of the other.

Authority may, however, be classified as one type of influence. David Easton takes influence as the comprehensive concept for a class of social relations and shows how authority is one type of power relationship within the class:[1]

---

[1] David Easton, "The Perception of Authority and Political Change," in Friedrich, ed., Authority, pp. 178-179 (diagram mine).


INFLUENCE
I) Mere Influence (A influences B, without intending to do so)
II) Power (A intends to influence B)
1) B Not Aware of A's exercise of power:
manipulation
2) B Aware of A's exercise of power:
i) force
ii) persuasion
iii) authority

Authority may be discerned in operation, says Easton, when "A sends a message to B and B adopts this message as the basis of his own behavior without evaluating it in terms of his own standards of what is desirable under the circumstances."[1]

Heinz Hartmann makes a similar distinction between authority and other forms of social influence. He finds five general bases for influence: belief, knowledge, reciprocity, manipulation, and coercion. These may be divided into two classes: internal and external types of influence. Internal influence (of which authority is one type) rests upon the belief or knowledge of the person influenced that he can depend upon the person exercising influence. External influence is gained through the superior cunning or power of the person who controls others' behavior. Reciprocity, or influence in the strict sense, lies on the line between internal and external influence, since there is a mutual interchange or bargaining carried on between the parties to the relationship.[2]

---

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 179.

[2] Heinz Hartmann, *Funktionale Autorität: Systematische Abhandlung zu einem sociologischen Begriff* ("Soziologische

Types of Authority

Max Weber's Classification of Types of Authority

The classic sociological analysis of types of authority is that of Max Weber. Weber defines authority (Herrschaft, which may also be translated as "imperative co-ordination" or "domination") as "the probability that certain specific commands (or all commands) from a given source will be obeyed by a given group of persons."[1] A key element in such authority is the belief in legitimacy; it is on the basis of the claims to legitimacy made by each that Weber classifies the three "pure types of authority": the traditional, the legal, and the charismatic types. These are ideal types and, in historical instances, are usually to be found in mixed, not pure, form.[2]

a) Traditional Authority

Traditional authority, says Weber, rests on "an established belief in the sanctity of immemorial traditions and the legitimacy of the status of those exercising authority under them."[3] In this type of authority, obedience is owed not to

---

Gegenwartsfragen," Neue Folge, Hg. E. Boettcher, L. Neundörfer, H. Schelsky; Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke Verlag, 1964), pp. 8-10. See below, pp. 58-61, for a schematic presentation of Hartmann's discussion of types of influence and the distinctions between authority and dominion.

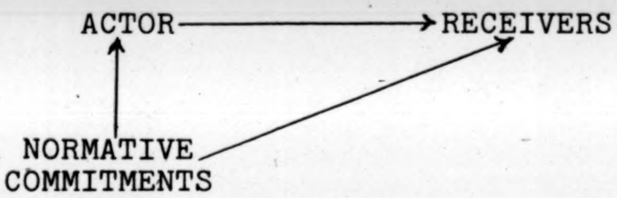
[1] Max Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, p. 324.

[2] Ibid., p. 329.

[3] Ibid., p. 328. See pp. 341-358 for the discussion of traditional authority.

enacted rules, but to the person who occupies a position of authority by tradition or who has been chosen for such a position on a traditional basis.[1]

This type of authority-pattern would be indicated by the diagram of the authority relationship in this way:



The *tradition* is the real authority in this relationship, for it exerts normative claims over bearer and subject alike. The authority of the actor is a *derived* authority, and its effectiveness over the receivers will depend not only on the relationship of the actor to the normative commitments but also on the relationship of the receivers to them.

b) Legal Authority

Legal Authority rests on a belief in the "'legality' of patterns of normative rules and the right of those elevated to authority under such rules to issue commands."[2] Here obedience is owed to the legally established impersonal order. "It extends to the persons exercising the authority of office under it only by virtue of the formal legality of their commands and only within the scope of authority of the office."[3] Weber speaks of this type of authority as "rational," and includes within it considerations of the special knowledge and competence of persons appointed to office; but the primary reference of the term "rational" here would seem to be to the *ordered* structure of the authority relationships, not to the "reason" involved.

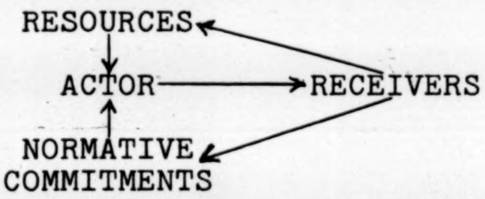
---

[1] *Ibid*., p. 341.

[2] *Ibid*., p. 328. See pp. 329-341 for the discussion of legal-rational authority.

[3] *Ibid*., p. 328.

Legal authority is established by *an act of those for whom authority is to be exercised* in a continuing social system:



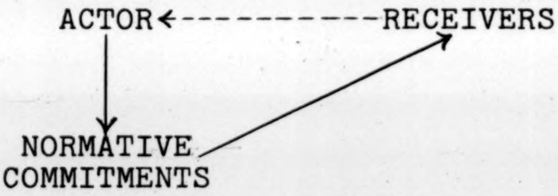
Once this type of authority structure is established, the primary authority is, as Weber says, the authority of the laws or rules. But these rules are "legal" because of their *source*, which is the people who are members of the continuing society; as Benne says, the rules of the game only apply as long as people play the game. The people also give to the authority-bearer his *rights of office*, which are a "resource" for authoritative action expected to be of benefit to the people. It is no rare phenomenon, of course, for people to forget that they (or people like them) made the rules; then the worst characteristics of bureaucracy and legalism begin to appear, rather than their best--the impersonality and rigidity of rules rather than their usefulness in promoting ordered efficiency.

c) Charismatic Authority

Charismatic authority rests on "devotion to the specific and exceptional sanctity, heroism or exemplary character of an individual person, and of the normative patterns or order revealed or ordained by him."[1] Obedience here is to the _individual_ because of belief in his _charisma_ ("gift of grace"):

> It is recognition on the part of those subject to authority which is decisive for the validity of charisma. This is freely given and guaranteed by what is held to be a 'sign' or proof, originally always a miracle, and consists in devotion to the corresponding revelation, hero worship, or absolute trust in the leader. But where charisma is genuine, it is not this which is the basis of the claim to legitimacy. This basis lies rather in the conception that it is the _duty_ of those who have been called to a charismatic mission to recognize its quality and to act accordingly.[2]

The pattern of charismatic authority would then look like this:



The essence of charismatic authority is that the charismatic person sets _new_ "normative commitments" for those who believe in him. This type of authority is specifically "outside the realm of everyday routine and the profane sphere," and so is sharply opposed to both traditional and legal authority.[3] It may be said to exist in its pure form, however, only in the process of originating; it cannot remain stable, but becomes "routinized" in the direction of traditional or legal authority, or a combination of both.[1]

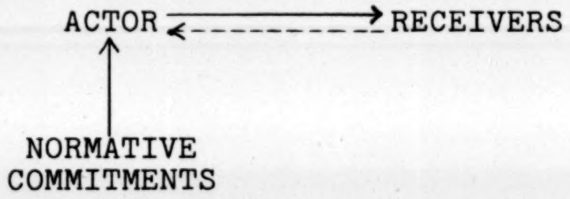
---

[1] _Ibid_., p. 328. See pp. 358-392 for discussion of charismatic authority.

[2] _Ibid_., p. 359.

[3] _Ibid_., p. 361.

There is a question to be raised concerning Weber's limitation of charismatic authority to the establishing of new normative commitments. In another sense, the quality of charisma would seem to be the legitimating characteristic of the man "inspired" directly by transcendent sources of authority already recognized and accepted by the people. The charismatic king, priest, medicine man, or military leader would be characterized in this way, and the patterns of their authority would take this form:



This could be classified as a case of traditional authority, were it not for the belief that the authority-bearer involved receives his power through a fresh and specifically personal inspiration from the transcendent source of authority recognized by all. It may be that this type of authority should be called "routinized charisma," since for it to be effective there must be present expectation that such inspirations are normal.

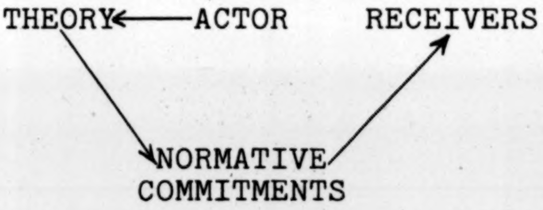
---

[1] Ibid., p. 364.

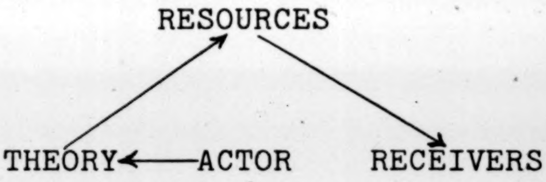
In still a wider context, there are qualities of "charisma" involved in any authority-relationship--in the aura of the awesome, the transcendent, the extraordinary surrounding the exercise of authority. This aura is the stronger the closer the authority-bearer is to whatever supreme "source of authority" is recognized in the society or the group.

Authority Legitimated by Reason

There are two rather special cases of authority-patterns where persons function as "authorities" without being authority-*bearers*--that is, without having formal sanctions available for supporting their authority or being in positions to control the behavior of others directly. These cases are the authorities of the *philosopher* or discoverer and the *scholar*:



Authority of Philosopher



Authority of Scholar

Both of these forms of authority might be called "rational-authority-at-one-remove," for it is not these *persons* but their *theory* which functions as an authority. The philosopher or discoverer of "new truth" proposes an *interpretation* of some aspect of reality or some new world-view, and this interpretation becomes accepted as a normative commitment for others. The authority of the scholar is similar to the authority of the dictionary; he is an "authority" because he knows the accepted theories and makes them available as resources for others, or else he does the painstaking work of confirming and illustrating theories proposed by discoverers, thus making the discovery available. The distinctions between "creators," "scholars," and "discoverers" of truth are not clear ones, however, as any graduate school or scholarly journal could testify.

The Pattern of Professional Authority

Hartmann suggests that Weber's three types of "authority" should be called types of dominion, and that there are two forms of social influence which represent authority proper.[1] Here he is making a distinction between Herrschaft and Autorität which was not made by Weber, who used the terms interchangeably. Both of these types of social influence are classed as internal, by which Hartmann means that persons exerting influence in these ways are able to do so because their action is legitimated by factors internal to the persons being influenced. Herrschaft (dominion) is exercised when persons believe in its legitimacy on traditional, charismatic, or legal grounds. Autorität, on the other hand, depends on the knowledge possessed by both the persons influenced and the person exercising authority. The person under authority does not believe in the authority-bearer without exercising his own standards of judgment; rather, it is because he has exercised

---

[1] Funktionale Autorität, p. 10.

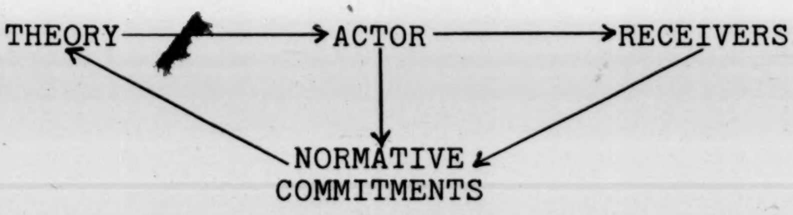
Figure 3: Types of Social Influence

	INNERLICH (INTERNAL)						ÄUSSERLICH (EXTERNAL)		
BASIS	GLAUBEN (BELIEF)			WISSEN (KNOWLEDGE)		RECIPROCITY	MANIPULATION	ZWANG (COERCION)	
TYPE	HERRSCHAFT (DOMINION)			AUTORITÄT (AUTHORITY)		INFLUENCE in the strict sense	ÜBERLEGENHEIT (Superiority)	MACHT (Power)	
BASIS	Charisma	Tradition	Legality	IDENTITY	SACHVERSTAND (EXPERTISE)			Abhängigkeit, Unabhängigkeit (Dependence, Independence)	Stärke (Strength)
TYPE	Charismatic	Traditional	Rational	Representative	Functional			"Monopoly"	Übermacht (Overwhelming power)
FORM	BEFEHL (COMMAND)			AUFKLÄRUNG (INTERPRETATION)	AUFTRAG (TASK)	Tausch (Exchange) Bestechung (Bribery)	Irreführung (Deception)	Äusbeutung (Exploitation)	Gewaltanwendung (Use of force)

Source: Heinz Hartmann, Funktionale Autorität, p. 8 (translation mine).

his judgment that he accepts authority. The knowledge which serves as a basis for this evaluation and judgment is gained in one case from participation in a *community of identification* with the authority-exerciser; his authority is *representtive* and takes the form of *interpretation* (*Aufklärung*) to the community or for the community. This is authority legitimated by community membership; it seems to be what Benne calls *pedagogical authority* where the "myth," the "collective destiny frame" of the community, is built into and shapes the members of the group.[1] The distinction between this kind of authority and the forms of *Herrschaft* is a hard one to make[2]--but the "feel" of the difference between them is that the person under dominion (which takes the form of command) accepts, without independent evaluation, the "rightness" of superiority which he pictures as "external" to him; the person assenting to authority makes his independent decision to accept as rightful the interpretations of someone who represents common interests.

This *authority of the community* would be pictured in this form:



---

[1] Benne, *A Conception of Authority*, p. 106.

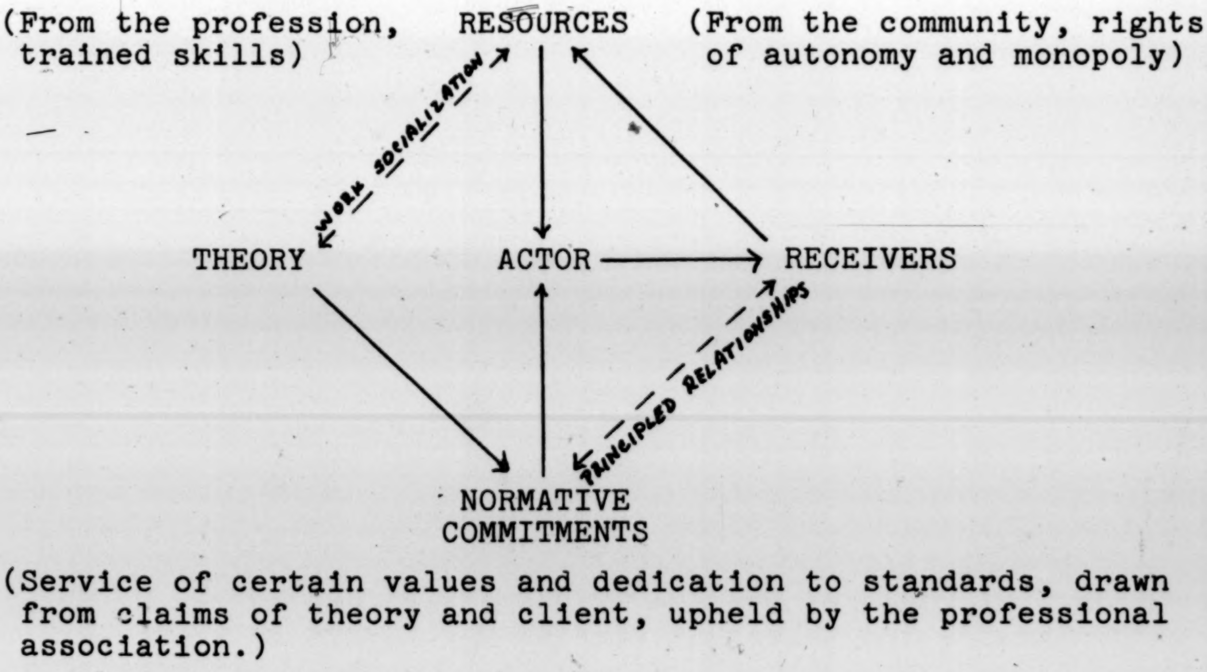
[2] Hartmann acknowledges that his presentation of the types of social influence is an ideal-typical one and that the types are hardly to be found in pure form. He further notes that the figure may represent a *continuum*, with the weight of influence being more or less "internal" or "external," or based more or less on belief, knowledge, or reciprocity.

Functional Authority

The other type of authority presented by Hartmann is functional authority. This is oriented specifically to the doing of certain tasks, and is legitimated by the expertise (Sachverstand) of the actor. While the persons for whom the expert performs the task do not possess this expertise, they do have knowledge of what has been involved in the gaining of it. It is linked with general knowledge; it is inculcated in practitioners through publicly-regulated training procedures; and its possessors are known to the public by certain formal marks such as degrees, licenses, and titles.

The authority of the professional is the outstanding case of this type of authority. The structure of professional authority takes this form:[1]

Figure 4: Professional Authority


(From the profession, trained skills)
RESOURCES
(From the community, rights of autonomy and monopoly)
WORK SOCIALIZATION
THEORY
ACTOR
RECEIVERS
PRINCIPLED RELATIONSHIPS
NORMATIVE COMMITMENTS
(Service of certain values and dedication to standards, drawn from claims of theory and client, upheld by the professional association.)

---

[1] Here the figure of the professional pattern (above, p. 23) has been superimposed on the figure of the structure of the authority relationship (above, p. 46).

i) Legitimation

Professional authority rests upon a particular working agreement between the public and groups oriented to the performance of certain specific tasks. This authority has two primary sources of legitimation: (a) the theory which forms the basis of professional practice and in which professionals must be trained, and (b) the public recognition which is given to the profession through rights of monopoly and autonomy, formalized by the requirement of licensing. Both theory and rights are validated by their reference to a significant area of cultural or societal values such as health, knowledge, or political stability. The sources of professional authority are thus primarily reason and law, but both are drawn from responsibility assigned by the community.

ii) Status

The position of the professional is above all an occupational position. He is the trained expert, drawing his status from his specialized functional role. This status has to be achieved by occupational groups through a process of convincing the public that certain kinds of services are desirable and that they can be properly performed only by persons who have been through an extended and rigorous process of education. Such a status is not fully developed until the occupation has achieved rights of monopoly over the performance of its service. These may be recognized by formal public licensing, but they are not effective unless the group can (by promoting its public image) form among the public the habit of turning to its members for services rather than to competitors offering the same or similar services.

iii) Situations Faced

The situations with which the professional is expected to deal are specific ones. His authority is accepted only in matters having to do with his specialty, though he often has general prestige in the society. The types of actions he is expected to perform in these special situations are technical ones--that is, they are functions for which his training in theory and technique has prepared him.

In the professional ideology, techniques and theory are supposed to be indissolubly linked, so that skills are governed by the application of general theory, not just by rule-of-thumb. In practice, the tenacity of this linkage will vary enormously between professions. In the ideology also, professional training is supposed to be required because skills must be tied to theory which cannot be learned on the job; but there are numerous instances where occupations have assumed the title of "profession" through their claim to possess certain skills and then have proceeded to develop "theory." Furthermore, even within professions where basic theory is taught to all practitioners, the skills have been broken down into many specialties: in medicine, for example, the general practitioner now characterizes himself as a specialist in internal medicine. As in the defining of professional status, so in the defining of professional roles there are carried on, within professional groups and between these groups and the public, extended arguments over what is to be regarded as "professional" and what is not.

Nevertheless, there is recognizable among professionals a style which when it is present is one of the most significant distinctions between work done as a profession and work done as a job. This professional style is the fruit of responses to the demands of the theory for understanding and the demands of the practice for skill. It has to be "caught," not "taught," in the process of professional education, and it is the quality which professionals recognize and admire in each other's work.

iv) Sanctions

There are exerted upon the professional by his profession demands for adherence to three kinds of standards: the theoretical standards of his field, the technical standards of his work, and the ethical standards of his relationships with clients, fellow professionals, and the public. These standards are the bases of the types of sanctions which may be exerted over him or which he may exert over others.

Professional authority has no access to force, and the only formal means of coercion available to practitioner and client alike are the legal sanctions available to all citizens. The power of the professional in his practice-relationships and within his professional group comes from the "balance of tensions" between equally valid claims upon him.[1]

---

[1] See above, pp. 24-28.

Each pole of these tensions serves as both a resource for attaining goals and a control over demands made from the other pole--the universal will control the particular, the theoretical the practical, the professional association the client, and vice versa. The sanctions based on these polar claims operate in all three types of professional standards: theoretical, technical, and ethical.

For this balance of tensions to work, one thing more must be maintained--professional autonomy. The individual practitioner has actual authority only insofar as he is supported by a group of fellow professionals who have in some ways established rights of independence and control over their own actions. The professional has to know that he will be defended when he is attacked and that if he has to use the last resort of walking out of an assignment, he will be supported. This necessary autonomy is something which professionals share with labor and other organized occupational groups. However, it is not professional organization alone but public acceptance of the professional pattern which backs up professional authority. The elements of the pattern--training, licensing, expert status, demand for services, etc.--in their special interrelationships are what have to be built into the "image" of the profession for professional authority to be present. The establishing and maintaining of this image is a process in which professions are continually engaged.

CHAPTER III

THE ACTION FIELD

In Chapters I and II I have proposed that the marks of a profession and the components of the authority relationship form structured patterns within which there are characteristic "balances of tensions." These structured patterns differentiate a profession from other occupations and an authority-relationship from other types of social control, and enable us to distinguish variations within the general professional or authority patterns.

It would be possible, on a rather abstract level, to begin analyzing the ministry with the help of these tools. We might consider the "marks of the ministry" in relation to the marks of a profession, estimating the extent to which the ministry does and does not conform to the professional pattern; and we might consider the presence or absence of traditional, functional, communal, legal-rational, or charismatic authority in various ministerial patterns, making comparisons between these patterns and the pattern of professional authority. But such an analysis would be unsatisfactory because it would remain on an ideal-typical level. On this level, there are no answers to the most interesting questions, such as: (1) Why are just these particular sets of components included in the professional pattern and the authority relationship? (2) What kinds of explanations could be given of how these components are related in structured patterns? (3) What do these patterns mean to the persons who are involved in them? (4) How does such involvement determine persons' actions and relationships? (5) By what means could we select empirical indicators of the presence or absence of various factors of authority or professionalism in concrete human situations? and (6) What kinds of evaluations and predictions could be made concerning the processes of change and adjustment in particular occupations such as the ministry?

What is needed, then, is a general theory of action-in-relationships which will do two things: first, provide a general framework within which the authority-pattern and the professional pattern will appear as special cases having certain things in common; and second, provide some guides for the observation of the action-in-relationship of ministers as compared with others in the society. Such a theory should, in other words, draw in the "big picture" on a theoretical level and then provide some indices for the understanding of details.

In this chapter I shall present Talcott Parsons' general theory of action as one such overarching conceptual framework, relating it to the patterns of professions and authority. Then in Part Two of the study I shall use a modified form of the theory of action for the interpretation of patterns of ministerial action as indications of certain ways of structuring the authority-relationship. The patterns of ministerial authority emerging from this analysis will then serve as a specific issue on which, in Part Three, I shall evaluate the ministry in relation to the professional pattern.

A. The General Theory of Action

Talcott Parsons' work has been directed toward the development of a general sociological theory for the interpretation of human behavior within the context of the interrelationships of personality, society, and culture. This theory he calls the "general theory of action," taking "action" as a comprehensive term which includes widely varying phenomena in human social life.[1] The ideal toward which Parsons is working is

> a system of propositions so related that their logical *inter*dependence is complete, so that all the propositions

---

[1] The latest and most condensed statement of the general theory of action is to be found in Parsons' article, "Pattern Variables Revisited: A Response to Robert Dubin," *American Sociological Review*, XXV, 4 (August, 1960), pp. 467-483. The theory is further explicated in "An Outline of the Social System," in Talcott Parsons, Edward Shils, Kaspar D. Naegele, and Jesse R. Pitts, eds., *Theories of Society: Foundations of Modern Sociological Theory* (2 vols.; New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., A Division of the Crowell-Collier Publishing Company, 1961), Vol. I, pp. 30-79. See also Parsons' "The Point of View of the Author," in Max Black, ed., *The Social Theories of Talcott Parsons: A Critical Examination* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1961), pp. 311-363. These statements are hardly to be comprehended, however, without a study of the development of the theory in Parsons, *The Social System* (1951); Talcott Parsons and Edward A. Shils, with the assistance of James Olds, "Values, Motives, and Systems of Action," in Parsons and Shils, eds., *et al.*, *Toward a General Theory of Action* (paperback edition; New York: Harper Torchbook, Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc., 1962), Part II, pp. 47-275; Talcott Parsons, Robert F. Bales, and Edward A. Shils, *Working Papers in the Theory of Action* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1953).

> in the system can be rigorously derived from a set of primary postulates and definitions.[1]

This systematization of theory implies the concept of empirical systems as its counterpart:

> An empirical system, then, is a body of presumptively interdependent phenomena to which a given abstract analytical scheme is presumptively relevant. . . . An empirical system is a theoretically defined field of relevant phenomena, with reference to which certain problem-statements have been abstracted.[2]

1. Four empirical systems

A basic part of the theory of action is the description, differentiation, and interrelationship of four such empirical systems: (a) the behavioral organism; (b) the personality system; (c) the social system; and (d) the cultural system. These interpenetrate each other, but for purposes of analysis they may be distinguished by their primary references. The cultural system refers to the patterning of basic values, life-interpretations, and norms of behavior in "common understandings"; the social system refers to the institutionalization of culture in structured patterns of human interrelationship--i.e., schools, governments, families, etc.; the personality system refers to the internalization of values and social norms in structured patterns of individuality; and the behavioral organism is the "given" structure of the human being. These four systems are related in this order of "cybernetic·control," where each system exercises normative direction over the one below it: 1) culture; 2) society; 3) personality; and 4) behavioral organism.

---

[1] Theories of Society, I, p. 32.

[2] Ibid., p. 32.

2. The social system: structural classification

A social system, the system within which such patterns as the professions are placed, is to be analyzed according to the *structural classification* organized about the concepts of system values, institutionalized norms, collectivities, and roles.[1] For our purposes these concepts may be illustrated, rather than defined, by pointing out that "health" would be a *value*, "professional practice" or "medical care" clusters of institutionalized *norms*, "the hospital staff" a *collectivity*, and "the work of the doctor in the hospital" a *role*.[2]

3. The basic duality: actor and situation

The structural components of the social system are concepts at a high level of generality. In order to put them and other concepts at this high level into proper perspective, it seems best to present Parsons' theory from the ground up, starting with the most fundamental assumptions and building upon them. The full complexity of the system will then appear only after its component parts have all been introduced.

The most ultimate principle of the theory of action, according to Parsons, is the assumption of a basic duality of actor and situation.[1] The "actor" is the postulated unit from whose point of view action-analysis is being carried out--in the usual case this actor is a human being, but the concept may be generalized to refer to collectivities or even ideas as "actors," depending upon the level of analysis. The situation is made up of objects, which may be physical, social, or cultural (i.e., another person, or the actor's own self seen objectively, is a social object; an idea or a norm is a cultural object). The theory of action involves the determination of two factors in the interrelationship of actor and object: (a) the modalities of the object, or the ways in which the actor perceives the object as significant to him; and (b) the orientations of the actor toward the object.

---

[1] *Ibid*., p. 30.

[2] I ask the reader's indulgence for the introduction of this structural classification at this point rather than later in the discussion. There seems to be no logically best point to introduce these concepts, since they are basic to the discussion to follow and yet are explicable only in terms of concepts yet to be introduced.

4. The pattern variables

These modalities and orientations are to be discerned by standards formed by the use in combination of the pattern variables, the concepts which have been judged by some (including Parsons) to be Parsons' most original contributions to sociological theory.

The pattern variables are "dichotomies, one side of which must be chosen by an actor before the meaning of a situation is determinate for him, and thus before he can act with respect to that situation."[2] These sets of variables, Parsons believes, constitute a logically interconnected and exhaustive set of references by which action may be analyzed.[1]

---

[1] "Pattern Variables Revisited," p. 324.

[2] Toward a General Theory of Action, p. 77. The definitions of the pattern variables are also taken from this source, pp. 80-86, passim.

i) The orientations of the actor to objects in the situation are defined by the combinations of the alternative choices in the two pattern variables Affectivity-Affective Neutrality and Specificity-Diffuseness. The affectivity-neutrality choice concerns whether the actor will take the opportunity for immediate gratification in the situation ("affectivity") or will renounce immediate gratification for discipline in the interests of evaluative considerations for the long run ("affective neutrality"). The specificity-diffuseness dilemma deals with the scope of significance of the object for the actor--whether he orients himself to the object as a whole, not limiting his concern with it ("diffuseness"), or whether he limits his involvement to a specific sphere or way of relationship to the object ("specificity"). Parsons would say, for example, that the orientation of the store clerk toward the customer is neutral and specific, the husband's toward his wife is affective and diffuse.

ii) The modalities of the object--that is, the meanings it can have for the actor--are defined by the combinations of the two pattern variables Universalism-Particularism and Performance-Quality. The choice of particularism means that the object has significance for the actor because of its special relation to him in some way; the choice of universalism means that the object is judged according to some general standards over and above the particular relationship between actor and object at that moment. The object may be judged according to what it is regardless of what it does ("quality"), or according to its actions and their outcomes ("performance"). For example, a parent regards a child as his child and loves it for what it is; but a judge must put aside any ties he may have with the defendant on trial and deal with him according to what he has or has not done.

---

[1] "Point of View . . . ," in Black, p. 330.

In schematic presentation, the pattern-variable combinations shaping the orientations of the actor and the modalities of the object take this form:

Orientations of Actor

	Neut.	Aff.
Spec		
Diff		

Modalities of Objects

	Univ.	Part.
Perf		
Qual		

In his original formulations of the pattern variables Parsons included a fifth alternative, Self-Orientation-Collectivity Orientation. He says that he now sees this as a special case of the "internal-external" axis of differentiation, which will be discussed at a later point. This alternative is on a different level from the four basic pattern variables.

5. The action system: two further problems

While it is possible to observe "unit acts," where the only two components are an actor and a situational object, "the theoretically general case," says Parsons, "is that of plural actors, _interacting_ with each other so that each concrete actor-unit becomes situation to the other."[1] When actor and object (usually, another actor) continue in relationship to each other over a period of time, or in repeated interaction, they form an action system. "A system is seen as two or more interacting units which are at the same time actors and social objects to each other."[2] When this is the case, in addition to the two problems of settling orientations and modalities (problems faced by each actor in relation to the other), there arise the problems of establishing norms for the _interrelationship_ of actors within the system and for the _interaction of the system with its external environment_.[3] These four problems together constitute the _four functional problems of action systems_, or conditions of stability for the systems.

6. The social system: functional categories

Parsons speaks of the four functional problems as the four primary functional categories for the analysis of the social system. These four categories--pattern-maintenance, integration, adaptation, and goal-attainment--were built into his theory through the combination of his pattern variables with Bales' findings about the workings of small groups in

---

[1] "Point of View . . . ," in Black, p. 324.

[2] _Ibid_., p. 325.

[3] _Ibid_., p. 328.

Working Papers in the Theory of Action. They have since taken a major part in the formulations of the frame of reference of the general theory of action.

i) Pattern-maintenance--. The problem of pattern-maintenance refers to

> the imperative of maintaining the stability of the patterns of institutionalized culture defining the structure of the system. . . . The focus of pattern-maintenance lies in the structural category of values. . . . In this connection, [for the social system] the essential function is maintenance, at the cultural level, of the stability of institutionalized values through the processes which articulate values with the belief system, namely, religious beliefs, ideology, and the like.[1]

Looked at structurally from the point of view of the action system, the problem of pattern-maintenance is the grounding or basing of action in commitment to values or world-views which endure through time, are shared by members of collectivities, and with reference to which possibilities for action are evaluated. Functionally, or as an activity, pattern-maintenance is the establishment, interpretation, and defense of these institutionalized cultural patterns. When the functional problems are looked at from a dynamic or process point of view, pattern-maintenance represents the latency or resting stage to which the action system returns after cycles of action aimed toward the achieving of goals or adjusting to the environmental exigencies.[2] (In Parsons' schematic formulations of the theory of action, pattern-maintenance is symbolized by "L" for latency.)

---

[1] Theories of Society, I, p. 38.

[2] See Talcott Parsons, Robert F. Bales, and collaborators, Family, Socialization and Interaction Process (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1955), p. 39.

ii) Integration--. Like pattern-maintenance, integration is a problem internal to action systems. This is the problem of the mutual adjustment of the "units" of sub-systems of the acting system from the point of view of their contributions to the effective functioning of the system as a whole. In social systems, the problem of integration is that of establishing norms for continuing relationships. Since relationships must be governed not only by shared values but by shared commitments of members to each other, the feelings of persons will play a part in the integrative process. On the level of personality, the individual will have the need to "collect himself," integrating his involvements into one self and understanding this self in relation to others and to ideas, things, and actions. The general reference of integrative norms can be illustrated by noting the kinds of activities which Parsons places in this category: for the social system, two such activities are the processes of law-making and keeping and the processes of medical care.

iii) Goal-attainment--. Goal-attainment and adaptation concern the relationship of the action system to its environment or situation; they are the external functional problems. In Parsons' theory, all action should be thought of as goal-directed. A "goal" is some envisioned future state of affairs toward which an actor (whether person or collectivity) orients himself and moves in order to meet some felt need. In interaction with the environment, a goal may be thought of as

> a directional change that tends to reduce the discrepancy between the needs of the system, with respect to input-output interchange, and the conditions in the environing systems that bear upon the "fulfillment" of such needs. Goal-attainment or goal-orientation is thus, by contrast with pattern-maintenance, essentially tied to a specific situation.[1]

The emphasis upon focused activity would seem to characterize goal-attainment more than it would the other three functional categories.

iv) Adaptation--. The functional problem of adaptation has two aspects: first, that of adjusting the action system to the changing environment, and second, that of manipulating the environment to provide resources for the internal needs of the action system. These resources are instrumental for the system, not ends in themselves; so it is important that they be available for different uses.

> The primary criterion is the provision of flexibility, so far as this is compatible with effectiveness; for the system, this means a maximum of generalized disposability in the processes of allocation between alternative uses.[2]

7. Axes of differentiation between system and environment

The pattern variables are rubrics for the analysis of the elements of choice involved in the standards regulating an action system. The four functional problems are used in two ways: first, to specify the general conditions for the continuing existence of an action system, and second, to characterize the internal orientations of particular units of the system (or the state of the whole system at a particular time). When the action system is presented in the context of its broader environment, two further distinctions at a higher level than these two sets must be introduced. These are the internal-external and instrumental-consummatory distinctions or "axes of differentiation." "Internal" here pertains to the internal states or demands of the action system, "external" pertains to its interactions with the environment. Another way in which this distinction may be seen is as the classification into categories of structure and categories of process. The instrumental-consummatory distinction is drawn from the point of view of the action system (rather than from the point of view of the environment); "consummatory" states, goals, relationships are desired as ends in themselves, "instrumental" actions, things, ideas, relationships, etc., are resources for the achieving of these desired ends.

---

[1] Theories of Society, I, p. 39.

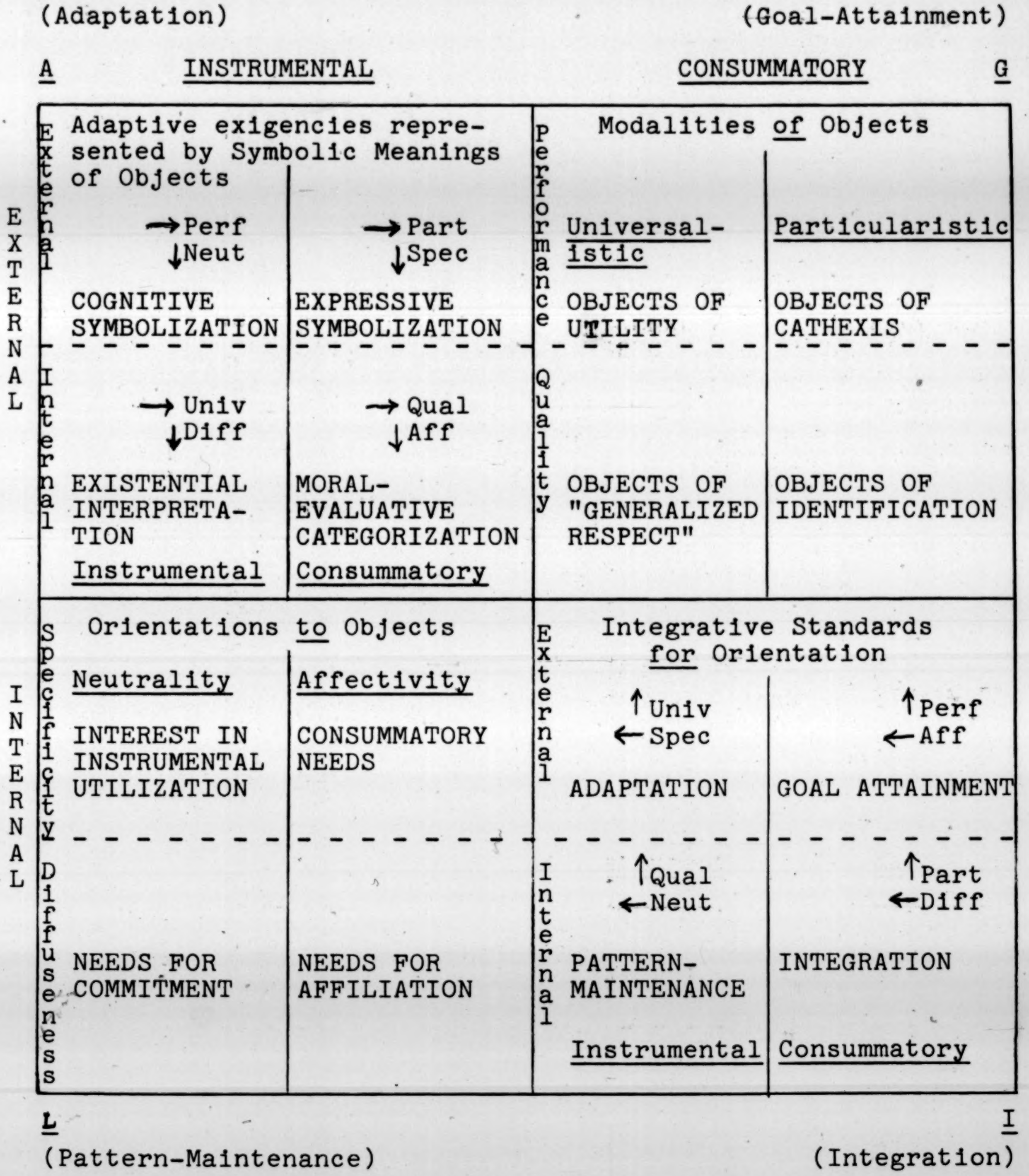
[2] Ibid., p. 40.

8. The theory of action: "big picture"

When all of the components of the theory of action are combined into one schematic presentation (see Figure 5, next page), the specific arrangement of the components in relationship to each other is as important as the distinctions between the meanings of various components. Figure 5, "Components of Action Systems," should thus be examined not merely as a classificatory diagram but as presenting the norms for the interactions of its several components.

The overall structure of the figure is formed by the two "axes of differentiation," internal-external and instru-

Figure 5: The Components of Action Systems[1]



(Adaptation) (Goal-Attainment)

A INSTRUMENTAL CONSUMMATORY G

	Adaptive exigencies represented by Symbolic Meanings of Objects		Modalities of Objects	
			Universalistic	Particularistic
EXTERNAL External Performance	→Perf ↓Neut COGNITIVE SYMBOLIZATION	→Part ↓Spec EXPRESSIVE SYMBOLIZATION	OBJECTS OF UTILITY	OBJECTS OF CATHEXIS
EXTERNAL Internal Quality	→Univ ↓Diff EXISTENTIAL INTERPRETATION	→Qual ↓Aff MORAL-EVALUATIVE CATEGORIZATION	OBJECTS OF "GENERALIZED RESPECT"	OBJECTS OF IDENTIFICATION
	Instrumental	Consummatory		
	Orientations to Objects		Integrative Standards for Orientation	
	Neutrality	Affectivity		
INTERNAL Specificity External	INTEREST IN INSTRUMENTAL UTILIZATION	CONSUMMATORY NEEDS	↑Univ ←Spec ADAPTATION	↑Perf ←Aff GOAL ATTAINMENT
INTERNAL Diffuseness Internal	NEEDS FOR COMMITMENT	NEEDS FOR AFFILIATION	↑Qual ←Neut PATTERN-MAINTENANCE	↑Part ←Diff INTEGRATION
			Instrumental	Consummatory

L I

(Pattern-Maintenance) (Integration)

---

[1] "Pattern Variables Revisited," American Sociological Review, XXV, 4 (August, 1960), p. 470. Reproduced in "The Point of View of the Author," in Black, The Sociological Theories of Talcott Parsons, p. 331.

mental-consummatory; these define, respectively, the bottom/top and left/right divisions of the figure. The four functional problems of the action system are represented by the four major blocks of the figure--in order, from the bottom left corner, they are pattern-maintenance, integration, goal-attainment, and adaptation.

The "orientations of the actor" are placed in the pattern-maintenance block, defined by the combinations of the pattern variables neutrality-affectivity and specificity-diffuseness. The "modalities of the object" are in the goal-attainment block, defined by the combinations of universalism-particularism and performance-quality. The integrative standards operative within the action system (in the "I" block) are defined by combinations of pattern variable alternatives taken, one from each, from the orientation and modality sets--thus, when the standards concern goal-attainment, the object is seen in terms of its performance potential, and the orientation of the actor toward it is affective (he desires it). In the "A" block are the standards for the interaction of the system with its environment; these standards are formed, as are the integrative norms, by combinations of pattern variable alternatives from the orientation and modality sets. In the figure, the adaptive exigencies are represented as symbolic means whereby the environmental object may be "taken into" the action system.

For the figure as a whole, the several cells of each of the four major blocks are filled with illustrations of what the cells would signify when the actor in question is a person. For other "actors," the meanings of the cells would have to be generalized and interpreted according to the particular action system in question--i.e., if the "actor" is an established cultural pattern (such as the religious beliefs of a church), and the "object" is another cultural pattern (such as scientific standards), then the pattern variables and functional problems would still apply, but the contents of the cells of the figure would be spelled out in other terms.

9. Tensions among the functional problems

The four-cornered directionality of the figure can be used to point out the tensions inherent in the processes through which an action system must maintain itself and interact with its environment. Concentration upon the solution of one functional problem intensifies the problems of the other directionalities:

> Maximizing efforts to resolve one problem, according to Parsons, intensifies one of the other problems. Resolving adaptation problems increases problems of integration (and vice versa); goal attainment intensifies the problem of general pattern maintenance; and there is a more general antagonism between the resolution of A and G (task or instrumental) problems on the one hand, and the I and L problems (social-emotional or expressive) on the other.[1]

Drawing upon Durkheim's categories, Parsons says that there is a "Law of Mechanical Solidarity" operative between L and G directions: the actor must balance the exigencies of maintenance of a structural pattern and of "coping" with a changing situation. Between I and A there is operative the "Law of Organic Solidarity": a balance must be achieved between a definite patterning of relationships between units of the action system, and flexibility yet consistency in patterning of adaptation to the shifting exigencies of the situation, both of the system to its environment, and of the unit to its situation within the system.[1]

---

[1] Henry A. Landsberger, "Parsons' Theory of Organizations," in Black, p. 219.

10. The use of the theory of action: structural-functional analysis

In use, the general theory of action works much like the opening of a series of boxes-within-boxes-within-boxes; a basic postulate is that subsystems within a larger system (e.g., education and government within a total society) derive their value-reference--the L subsector of the subsystem--from the functional role they play in the larger system. Then each subsystem will have its functional sub-subsystems emphasizing L, I, G, or A functions. Within collectivities, roles of participant actors will be oriented primarily toward the solution of one or more of the functional problems.

Thus the basic system-environment duality always holds, together with the four functional problems. There will be norms for the input-output interchanges between system and subsystem, and norms for the internal integration and pattern-maintenance of each. The first requirement of this kind of structural-functional analysis, then, will be to specify the system-reference upon which one is working. In Economy and

---

[1] "Point of View . . . ," in Black, pp. 343-344.

Society,[1] for example, Parsons and Smelser place the economy in the adaptation subsector of the society and then proceed to analyze how the four functional problems are provided for within the economy by various institutions.

If Parsons' contentions are correct, the general theory of action should be applicable to the analysis of the personality system, the social system, and the cultural system. Within the social system there will be many levels at which the theory is useful: the balance-of-tensions within a particular role, role-differentiation within a collectivity, the functional subsystems of a collectivity, that collectivity's relationship to its wider context, etc., all the way up to the analysis of a total society. In addition to this structural-functional analysis, the theory should be applicable to the study of process within an action system, that is, to the order in which it deals with various problems and reacts to change; and it should be useful for making comparisons between various action systems.[2]

11. Criticisms of the general theory of action

Parsons' general theory of action has attracted widespread criticism, on a number of counts:

---

[1] Talcott Parsons and Neil J. Smelser, Economy and Society: A Study in the Integration of Economic and Social Theory (paperback ed.; New York: The Free Press, A Division of the Macmillan Company, 1965).

[2] For a presentation of the way Parsons uses his theory in making an analysis, see Edward C. Devereux, Jr., "Parsons' Sociological Theory," in Black, The Social Theories of Talcott Parsons, pp. 44-53.

a) General criticisms of the difficulty of getting hold of what Parsons is trying to say, and determining whether it is useful.[1]

b) Criticisms of the abstractness of "Grand Theory" which reifies concepts into Concepts and endlessly interrelates them without ever getting down to the empirical analysis of actual situations.[2]

c) Criticism of the lack of "action" in the "action theory." Can an analysis of structures and of actors' orientations predict how they will behave? How are concepts such as the pattern variables linked to observable data?[3]

d) Questions of method--. Where do the concepts come from? Are the particular pattern variables suggested by Parsons the only, or the necessary, variables for the study of action? How is the theory itself to be construed--as a set of general hypotheses, a "frame of reference," or as a special terminology for what is common social theory?[4]

e) Questions of structure and process--. Is Parsons' theory primarily a theory of social statics, emphasizing equilibrium and unable to deal with social change?[1]

---

[1] One sociologist of my acquaintance remarked, "Where I went to graduate school, to ask us to study Parsons would have been like asking a go-go teenager to listen to Lawrence Welk!"

[2] C. Wright Mills, The Sociological Imagination (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), Chapter II.

[3] William F. Whyte, "Parsonian Theory Applied to Organizations," in Black, pp. 250-267. Parsons does not deserve the full weight of Whyte's criticisms of the study of "orientations," for Whyte does not acknowledge that Parsons posits a duality of orientations and situation, independently variable.

[4] Max Black, "Some Questions About Parsons' Theories," ibid., pp. 268, 269.

f) Questions of the duality of the system--. Why is it necessary to insist that the variables are dichotomies and not continua?[2]

I shall not attempt to deal with these criticisms at this point, for my primary interest in the general theory of action is not to prove its validity in all of its parts; rather, I should like to attempt to use the theory as a frame of reference for the analysis of a particular problem--authority--in a particular profession--the ministry. The fruitfulness of the theory will depend upon whether it raises illuminating questions and points in the direction of meaningful answers. Since Parsons has not himself specified the rules for the application of the general theory to particular analyses, I must make such an attempt in one case. Whether the findings of this analysis can be generalized for other uses of the general theory of action is a question with which I cannot deal within the scope of this study.

B. The Theory of Action as a Framework for the Study of the Ministry

The central question of this study is, What does the Protestant ministry look like as seen through the image of a profession, as compared with other occupations known as professions and with other possible images used to describe the ministry? I have chosen to approach this question through the analysis of patterns of authority, for authority is the kind of central concept which gathers into itself and relates the questions of values, cognitive interpretations, patterns of relationships, and norms of action.

---

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 277.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 287.

In the context of this analysis, the general theory of action as I shall use it serves three purposes:

a) As a general, structural-functional sociological theory, it provides one possible framework for the understanding of the "patterns" of professions and authority with their several components held in a "balance of tensions";

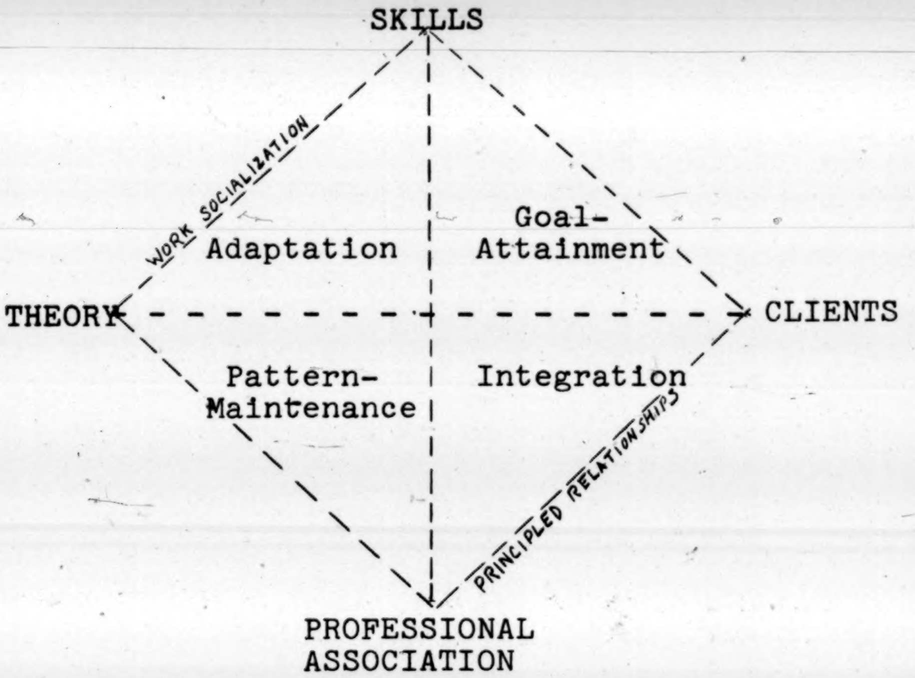
b) As a *field* theory with a number of variables in determinate interrelationships, it suggests indices for the portrayal of varying action-orientations within established patterns of norms (such as "the work of the ministry" with its internal variations);

c) And as an interpretive and predictive device, it provides one basis for the *comparison* of the ministry with other occupations and for the interpretation of processes of *change* in the ministry.

1. The professional pattern and the theory of action

On the level of structural-functional analysis, the professional pattern and the authority relationship may be regarded as particular normative structures of human relationships. As such, they are subject to the four functional problems of action systems; they stand in particular relationships to their environments; and they contain possibilities for internal differentiation and strain.

The professional pattern as it was presented in Chapter I represents a normative solution of the four functional problems:



Considering for the moment the professional and his client as the "action system," the four functional problems are met in this way:

i) The two actors share a common value (e.g., concern for "health," "knowledge," etc.) which both of them agree is to be gained through the work of the profession which has been granted responsibility in this particular area of culture, and the professional association has as one of its tasks the maintenance of this pattern;

ii) Through specialized training the professional has gained resources (adaptation) for

iii) the solution of specific problems which the client has (goal-attainment);

iv) And the relationship of the practitioner to his client is governed by special sets of "principled relationships" which have been built into codes of ethics or the public image of the profession (integration). These principled relationships will manifest certain combinations of the pattern variable alternatives, usually clustered around specificity and universalism.

Considering the profession and the larger society as the action system, the profession will be an adaptive device for meeting needs of the society in any of its four functional problems (for example, law in the integrative sector, engineering in the adaptive, the military in the goal-attainment, education in pattern-maintenance, integration, and adaptation).

Within a profession, various devices will solve its internal functional problems. Various sub-groups will concentrate on one or another of the four directions; and an individual practitioner's personal way of orienting to the world will be skewed more or less toward some combination of the directions (a social worker, for example, could be a "friend" or a "technician," at opposite ends of the A-I continuum).

2. The authority relationship and the theory of action

Though Parsons does not do this in his article on authority,[1] it seems apparent that, on the theoretical level, there is a correspondence between the four functional problems of action systems, the four criteria of institutions, and the four structural components of the social system:

a) *Legitimation* is the process of the grounding of action in shared normative commitments so that it is accepted as rightful; this is the functional problem of *pattern-maintenance*, and the structural component involved is *values*.

b) An actor's *status* is determined by the normative relationships in which he is placed in various *collectivities*; this is the *integrative* problem.

c) The *situations faced* by an actor are a part of the definition of his *role*, and the functional reference is *goal-attainment.*

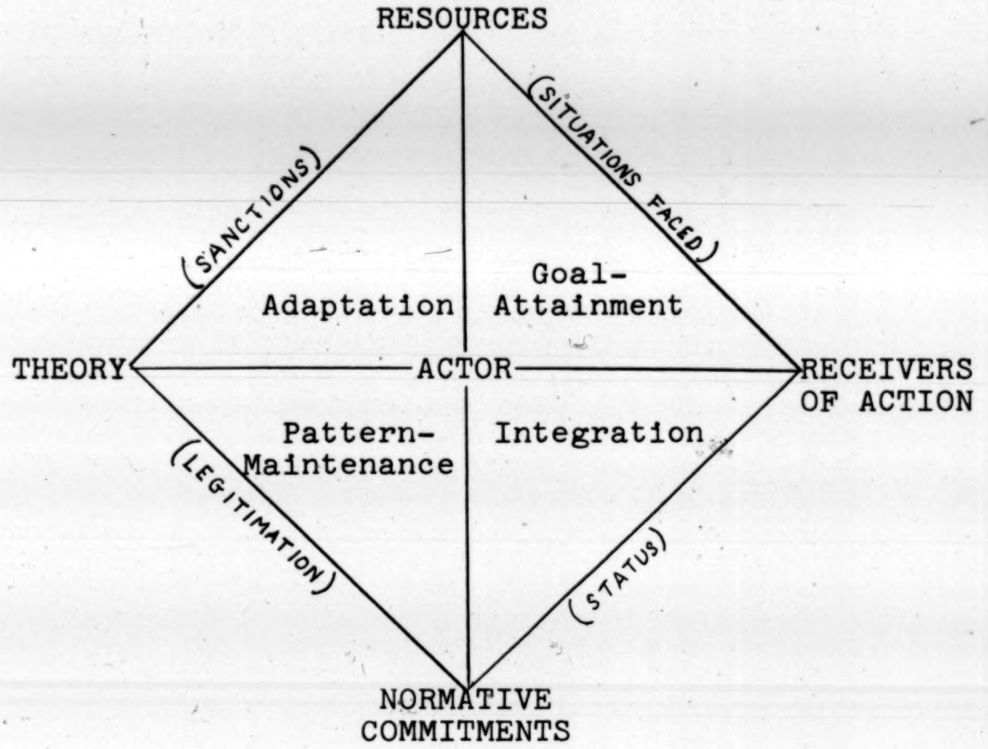
d) While this connection is not as apparent, it is possible to see the *sanctions* available to an actor and to those with whom he interacts as a matter of *adaptation*, governed by the structural component of *norms*. I make this judgment on the basis that sanctions are called into play under the circumstances where an adjustment between *internal* and *external* situations must be made. The norms determining sanctions will come from all four directions of the action system: values (L), relationships (I), specified goals and procedures (G), and external situation (A).

These correspondences are indicated on the figure of the general pattern of the authority-relationship.

---

[1] "Authority, Legitimation, and Political Action," in Friedrich, ed., *Authority*.

The Authority Relationship in the Action Field[1]



For the understanding of different special patterns of authority, it is necessary to use the schema of the four functional directionalities a second time within the discussion of each criterion of authority, to determine the predominant weight of the considerations arising from each of the four functional problems. Within the criterion of legitimation, for example, a particular pattern of authority might be governed chiefly by norms of integration (primacy of community solidarity and law); pattern-maintenance (primacy of tradition and transcendent reference); goal-attainment (primacy of task-orientation and leadership position); or adaptation (primacy of theory, situational exigencies, or technical skills). The same kind of internal analysis should be made under the criteria of status, situations faced, and sanctions available in a particular authority-relationship, with the interpretations of the meanings of the four directions or functional problems specified by the criterion under discussion and the peculiarities of the relationship being analyzed.

---

[1] See the presentation of the pattern of the authority relationship above, pp. 46-48.

3. A proposed use of the theory of action: field and process analysis

Parsons' general theory of action as it has been stated is quite useful on the level of structural-functional analysis, provided the cases under study are so structured that the general concepts of the theory can be given specific meanings in the particular context. For dealing with professions _as occupational institutions_, structural-functional analysis is appropriate for analyzing internal patterns and making comparisons with other occupational institutions.

However, when one attempts to use the theory of action as a set of interrelated hypotheses for the examination of specific information about the actions of persons within such structured relationships, the picture becomes cloudy. Human "action" by particular persons in particular contexts is difficult to categorize under a limited number of variables, and the actors seem to persist in being irrational from the point of view of the observer as he sees their situation through his conceptual glasses!

I should like to propose that, for getting at the "inside" of authority relationships and professional patterns, it is more useful to transform Parsons' model of the action system into an image of the action field.[1] This would mean using the theory of action as a frame of reference rather than as an interrelated set of general hypotheses; its components would be used as indicators of possible directions of movement and possible sources of tension and change, rather than as classificatory devices.

There is some justification in Parsons' own works for using his theory in this way, as in this observation about action:

> The study of human social behavior necessarily involves a frame of reference here called "action." . . . Action treats behavior as "adaptive," as "motivated," and as guided by symbolic processes. . . . Another way of putting the matter is that neither the theory of mechanics in the older sense nor that of nineteenth-century physiology would be adequate if simply "applied" to the behavioral field.[2]

While Parsons' use of his own theory is not mechanical but is marked by Verstehen and imaginative "living into" the situations he studies,[3] the form in which he presents the theory is mechanical. Its assumptions resemble those of Newtonian physics: (a) the basic separation of subject and object; (b) their relationship through certain laws; (c) a postulate of dichotomous, not continuous, variables; and (d) the building of a systems-model which is assumed to work by laws of cause and effect.

---

[1] "Field" is here used as an analogy to an electromagnetic field, not a football field.

[2] Theories of Society, I, p. 32.

[3] See the study of medical practice in The Social System, Chapter X, pp. 428-479.

But human action-in-relationship does not assume set boundaries between "subject" and "object," for action is shaped by the (symbolic or literal) participation of each in the other. The choices open to an actor are rarely a matter of either-or, and the set of pattern variables would have to be stretched and interpreted loosely indeed to take account of such tensions as those between past, present and future, absolute and relative, thought and action. Seen as a flow and intermingling of many processes, human action is not so easily interpreted by Newtonian models as by the concepts of twentieth-century science such as probability rather than cause-and-effect; complementarity, where two contradictory theories (such as the theories of light as wave or as particles) are needed to explain phenomena; ambiguity, where it is impossible to know movement and position at the same time, and the act of observation changes the observed; and relativity, where the point of view of the observer governs the way reality "is."

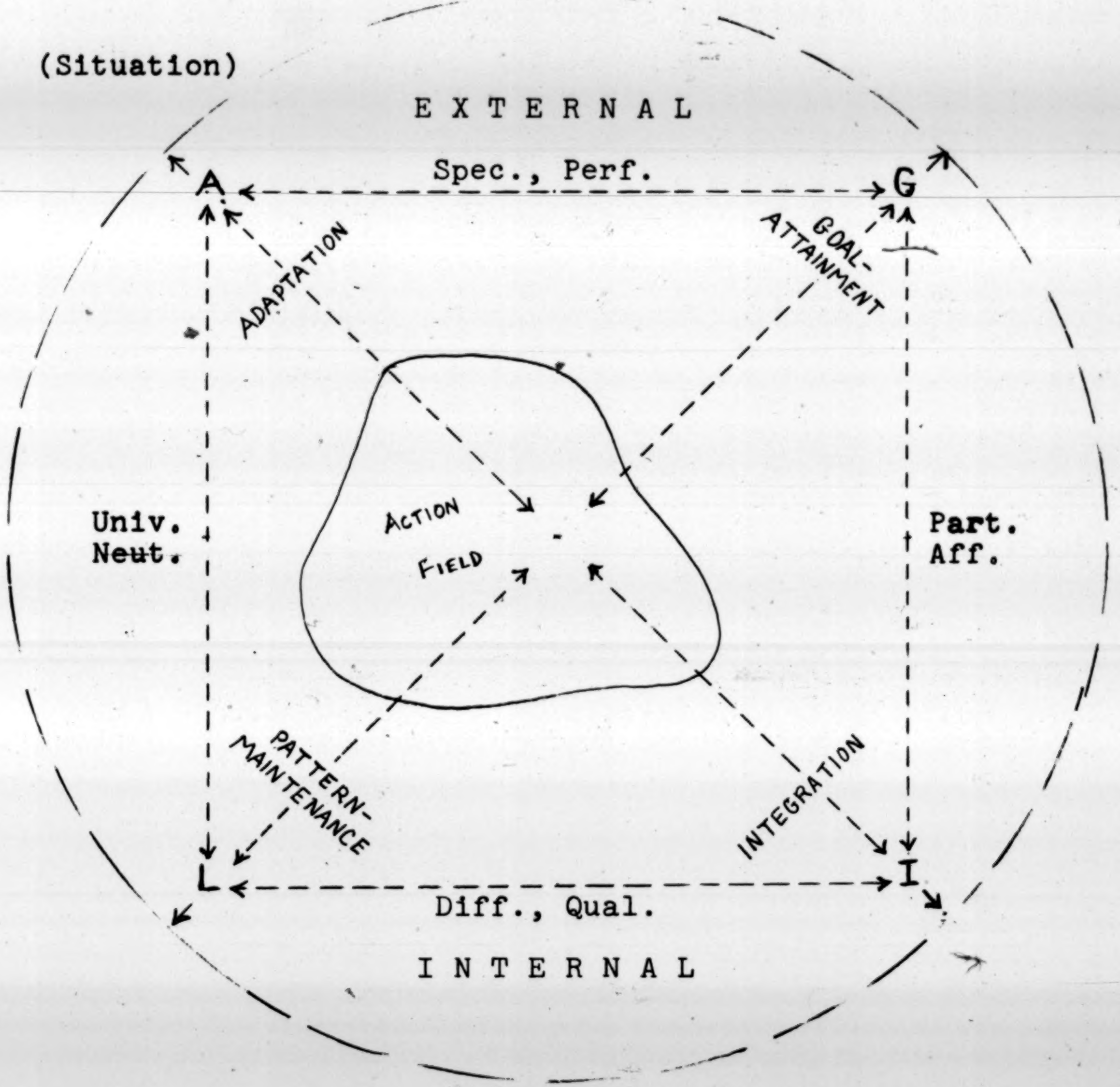
I find that the major difficulties with Parsons' pattern variables are two: first, they are not necessarily dichotomies, but seem to represent opposite ends of various lines-of-tension running through situations in which persons find themselves--and a person's choice in the situation just might be "60% universality, 40% particularity," or he could oscillate back and forth between the two. Second, the pattern variable terms really mean very little in themselves; whatever meanings they have depends on how they are used to interpret the concrete particularities of situations on many different levels. Max Black calls the pattern variables "chameleon concepts," continually changing their meaning on different levels of analysis,[1] and I am willing to let them remain such for the purposes of this study, using them as pointers-to-problems rather than as strictly defined concepts. The sets of pattern variables are better regarded as tools of the analyst than as choices of which the actor is conscious. To take an example, if a minister were embroiled in a controversy with his members over the admission of Negroes to the congregation and he decided to admit them no matter what the people said, the observer could judge that the minister had chosen the "universal" alternative; but, suppose the minister in fact made the decision because a larger, more liberal church had its eye on him and he had to prove himself? Then the standards for his decision would be "particularistic" from his internal point of view! The placing of such actions on the proper systems-levels becomes rather confusing.

i) The action field--. Taking these difficulties into account, for the purposes of this study I shall use the theory of action to specify the balance-of-tensions within the action field that is set up between an actor (a person or a group) and his situation:

---

[1] "Some Questions About Parsons' Theories," in Black, ed., The Social Theories of Talcott Parsons, p. 284.

Figure 6: The Action Field



In Figure 6 the four functional categories form the "frame" of the picture, one at each corner. They represent four directions along which may run the flows between a person and his situation. Picture electromagnets at the four corners of the figure, each exerting "pulls" upon the actor in the center of the picture. The action field is formed by the combinations of these pulls; it is a "balance of tensions" such as that by which I described the professional pattern. This action field may be imagined as an amoeba--a very elastic one --pinned down to the center of the figure but able to expand itself toward any of the four directions or any combination of them.

In calling the action field a "balance of tensions" I do not mean to say that the norm or the ideal pattern for an actor is an action field giving equal weights to all four directions so that he maintains equilibrium in the center of the picture. The center of this figure represents, rather, that dynamic point at which the pulls from all directions meet. It is the point where, in value-terms, an actor locates himself as he becomes aware of the variety and complexity of what is going on in his situations. When a person has learned to appreciate the necessity for pattern-maintenance, integration, adaptation, and goal-attainment at the appropriate times and places, then the center of the tensions between them becomes, not a "place," but a point from which he can be prepared to act in any one of the four directions in response to claims made upon him from his situations. Professional style or professional spirit, those hard-to-pin-down qualities, are evidences of the professional's having built into his pattern of action the balance-of-tensions of his calling so that he is neither split apart by conflicting claims nor captured by any of them; he can be technically disciplined (adaptive pull) without losing concern for his clients (integrative pull).

The pattern variable terms and the external-internal distinctions drawn around the action field in Figure 6 are indicators of some of the pulls that might be operative in a given context. "External" and "internal" are not meant to be rigid opposites, but are indicators that no action field (pattern of response or orientation) can be understood by an analysis of the "givens" of the actor (person or collectivity) or of the "givens" of the situation, but only through a grasp of the way these two factors interact. In a concrete situation, for example, the case of a minister's having to allocate his energies between the needs of his congregation and the needs of his community, there must be worked out some balance between the external and the internal demands. In another case, that of ministers deciding about their beliefs in the midst of a cultural revolution, "internal" preferences would mean sticking to the accepted theological norms and "external" responses would mean attempts to find new language for making faith understandable.

The pattern variable terms indicate the kinds of tensions that are present between the four action-orientations of the field. Pattern-maintenance and integration are both based on value-judgments, but the tension between them is that of deciding whether one is willing to admit the claims of the value upon himself or make claims upon it for himself (the neutral/universal--affective/particular tension). The pulls between adaptation and integration are the tensions between adapting to the situation (adaptive emphasis, governed by external, universal, and specific norms) and maintaining integrity or solidarity in the midst of a threatening situation (integrative emphasis, governed by internal, particular, and quality norms). When does a minister try to move his congregation to lay themselves on the line for social justice, and when does he try to minister to their personal faith-needs? This is the sort of tension which forms an action field.

ii) General hypotheses--. The theory of action yields some general hypotheses about the kinds of configurations within the action field which we might expect to find. Suppose that several persons' actions in a number of situations were observed over a period of time, and their general patterns of response were interpreted in terms of the "weight" these persons give to the four pulls of the action field. Comparing action-patterns, we might find:

a) Actors with overly high scores on pattern-maintenance and integration, not matched by some scores on adaptation and goal-attainment, are likely to be "closed systems" (the internal is dominant).

b) Persons with overly high scores on adaptation and pattern-maintenance will tend to be aloof, those with very high scores on goal-attainment and integration will tend to get over-involved (emphasis upon universal/neutral factors on one side and particular/affective on the other).

c) Persons with overly high scores on adaptation and goal-attainment are likely to be over-adaptive, lacking stable bases either in normative value-standards (L) or in relationships (I).

d) Within a collectivity (an organization or any continuing relationship between two or more persons) we can expect to find certain persons specializing in meeting the various needs of the collectivity's action field. Some will concentrate on pattern-maintenance, others on goal-attainment, and so on. Where roles are normatively defined, some will be specifically characterized by responsibility for certain ones of the four problems.

e) If, within a continuing situation, there has been for some time an over-emphasis upon one direction of the field, we may expect to see reactions toward the other directions. Persons cannot continually be moved toward achieving specific goals, for example, without occasionally stopping to "collect themselves" (integration) and ask what is the meaning of what they are doing (pattern-maintenance).

iii) The use of the action field pattern--. The action field picture of a balance-of-tensions between four pulls may be used on several different levels of analysis: (a) on the normative level, to picture "the way things are" (or are supposed to be) in established patterns--of values, of institutions, of social organizations, of role-definitions, of cognitive theories, and of individuals' personalities (which may be thought of as normative ways of interacting with the world, internalized in recognizable individual patterns); (b) on the level of situational exigencies, to picture "what is happening"; (c) on the level of the actor's response to the situation, to picture what he does when he is faced with "the immediacy of situational exigencies, looked at both as dangers and as opportunities."[1]

In any analysis, all of these levels have to be taken into account. For the study of the ministry as an occupation, this will mean portraying the "normative pattern" of the ministry on the cultural and social levels; making some evaluations of the situations facing the ministry; and showing some of the kinds of responses different groups of ministers are making at this time. There may emerge in the process identifiable patterns of stances-toward-the-world manifested by various individual ministers, though it will be impossible within the scope of this study to make any psychological analyses of the "ministerial personality."

4. Patterns of ministerial authority

In Part Two I shall use the action field pattern as an analytical device for the study of one specific issue, the balances of tensions in patterns of ministerial authority in Protestant churches. The analysis will be organized under the headings of the four criteria of institutions: legitimation, status, situations faced by authority-bearers, and sanctions. Under each of these, the action field frame of reference will be used in two ways: (a) for specifying the context of discussion--thus legitimation is linked with factors of pattern-maintenance, status with integration, situations faced with goal-attainment, and sanctions with adaptation; and (b) for differentiating and interpreting various patterns of ministerial action within each criterion. Thus, for example, the status of a minister is a matter of the norms of integration of the collectivity--the church--within which he works; but the statuses of different ministers within the general picture may be determined primarily by norms of pattern-maintenance, adaptation, goal-attainment, or integration (or combinations of these). The situation being analyzed will dictate the specific meanings of the action field terms in relation to each other in that context.

---

[1] Parsons, "Point of View . . . ," in Black, p. 324.

a) Sources of information about ministerial action--. The primary source of data about ministers' varying patterns of action which I shall use is the Danforth Ministry Survey, an instrument developed as part of the three-year study of Campus Ministries under the direction of Dr. Kenneth Underwood of Wesleyan University. I was granted access to the data from this survey in their raw form, so the interpretations I make of the information are my own, and do not represent official findings of the Survey.

The survey instrument is divided into eight major sections:[1] I. Religious Beliefs; II. Religion and Science; III.

---

[1] See Appendix for a copy of the survey instrument, with a brief note about the Survey itself. There was a response of approximately 70% to the questionnaire, which was sent to more than 10,000 ministers. All campus ministers and a 25% sample of parish ministers in the American Baptist, American Lutheran, Episcopalian, Methodist, Missouri Synod Lutheran, and Presbyterian, U.S.A. denominations received the questionnaire.

Religion and Higher Education; IV. Counseling; V. Social Issues; VI. Professional Activities and Missions; VII. How You See Yourself; and VIII. Background Information. For my purpose of examining patterns of ministerial authority, Sections I and VI are directly relevant; there are questions in the other sections which can also be used. The two criteria of authority on which the Danforth Survey offers the least amounts of data are the questions of status and sanctions; in the chapters devoted to these criteria I shall make use of information about ministers gathered from other sources.

b) Process of analysis--. The process of analysis which I shall follow in each chapter of Part Two is this: first, the context of the issue will be outlined in terms of the action field and the criterion of authority; second, the "normative pattern" of the ministry in this area will be sketched; third, the action field theory will be used to examine the variations between the orientations of different groups of ministers within the general pattern; and fourth, these findings will be interpreted in terms of the criterion of authority under discussion.

These findings about patterns of ministerial authority under the headings of the four separate criteria of authority will then be pulled together into an over-all picture of the pattern of ministerial authority with its variations. In Part Three this pattern will be compared with a general pattern of professional authority and the variations upon it manifested by some specific professions; and from this comparison will be drawn some conclusions and implications arising from looking at the ministry through the image of the profession.

PART TWO

PATTERNS OF MINISTERIAL AUTHORITY

CHAPTER IV

THE LEGITIMATION OF THE MINISTER'S AUTHORITY

> He entered the temple, and the chief priests and elders of the nation came to him with the question: "By what authority are you acting like this? Who gave you this authority?" Jesus replied, "I have a question to ask too; answer it, and I will tell you by what authority I act. The baptism of John: was it from God, or from men?" This set them arguing among themselves: "If we say, 'from God,' he will say, 'Then why did you not believe him?' But if we say, 'from men,' we are afraid of the people, for they all take John for a prophet." So they answered, "We do not know." And Jesus said: "Then neither will I tell you by what authority I act."[1]

Introduction

Authority we have defined as a form of power which is considered to be _rightful_ direction of others' behavior. For coercion, possession of superior resources is sufficient; but the power of authority rests with the persons being influenced, for it is in their minds that control must be established as rightful.

The criterion of _legitimation_ refers to the process by which actions are established as rightful in a particular context where persons with something shared in common set up normative patterns for their interaction. As Parsons defines it, legitimation is "the primary link between values as an internalized component of the personality of the individual, and the institutionalized patterns which define the structure of social relations"[1]--or, to state the issue simply, "There is something which we desire; how can we arrange things to assure its regular availability?" This problem, the maintaining of norms to secure values, is, in action field terminology, the problem of pattern-maintenance.

---

[1] Matt. 21:23-27, _The New English Bible, New Testament_ (Great Britain: Oxford University Press and Cambridge University Press, 1961).

What is involved in this patterning? Parsons suggests several variables of which legitimation is a function:

> As an operative process in social systems, legitimation . . . is not a simple entity the content and strength of which depends only on the nature of the values themselves; it is rather a function of several variables. These variables are, first, the value-content itself; second, the nature and solidity of the cognitive justification involved; third, the mode and order of internalization of the values in personalities, that is, of their motivation; and fourth, the nature of the situation in which the actor who accepts some kind of commitment to the values is placed in the social system in which he undertakes to implement them.[2]

Once more, while Parsons does not say this, it seems apparent that his four-fold classification of the functional problems of action systems has specified a set of variables. Picturing the process of legitimation as an "action field," the four variables of legitimation may be seen as the setting up of norms to meet the four functional problems:

---

[1] "Authority, Legitimation, and Political Action," in Friedrich, ed., Authority, p. 202.

[2] Ibid.

Category: Adaptation
Variable: "nature of situation"
Norms: relation of pattern of relationships to its changing environment

Category: Goal-Attainment
Variable: "value-content"[1]
Norms: agreement on aims to be sought

Category: Pattern-Maintenance
Variable: "cognitive justification"
Norms: specification of cognitive and structural norms for embodying aims

Category: Integration
Variable: "motivation"
Norms: internalizing aims as personal values; solidarity

The question of legitimation is a pre-eminent one for the minister, for he works in a social institution whose main concern is the definition of values and their embodiment in patterns of action: the Christian faith is the acting-out of a particular answer to the ultimate question, What is the meaning and the end of human existence? The work of the minister can only be understood against the background of the life-interpretation he shares with other Christians, with the several ways in which this understanding has been embodied in structured patterns. It is with this shared context that I will deal in this chapter.[1]

---

[1] Parsons says that values may be discerned in terms of "modes of categorization of the society, at the highest level of generality, as an evaluated object--the appropriate categories seem to be pattern variables" (Theories of Society, I, p. 47). In the figure of the components of action systems (above, p. 79), the "object-categorization" cell is in the Goal-Attainment sector, formed by the pattern variables universalism-particularism and performance-quality. I shall use these pattern variable categories only as flexible indicators, not as a rigid typology.

I shall argue that in the structuring of the Christian pattern there need to be norms for specifying aims, guiding individual commitments, spelling out interpretations of the faith, and relating the Church and its members to its situation, the-world-and-God. I shall present this basic Christian pattern as a "balance of tensions," or an action field in which the four directions (pattern-maintenance, goal-attainment, integration, and adaptation) represent "pulls" upon the Christian toward one part of the field or another. Then I shall attempt to show how in the process of institutionalizing their faith--setting up standards and structures--various groups of Christians have emphasized different sides of the tensions, so that there are several major legitimation-patterns at work.[2] The analysis of these types of legitimation will lay the groundwork for the examination of ministers' varying statuses, roles, and sanctions in the chapters to follow.

---

[1] My presentation of the Christian pattern will be in terms of its meaning to its members, not in terms of the "functions of religion in the social system." A prevailing trend in sociology has been to explain religion as serving functions of "social integration" (see, for example, the summary of Kingsley Davis' view in Charles Y. Glock, "The Sociology of Religion," in Robert K. Merton, Leonard Broom, and Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., eds., Sociology Today: Problems and Prospects [New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1959], p. 155). But religious people can as easily be socially disruptive or adaptive! Robert K. Merton makes a telling criticism of the postulate of "functional unity" in the study of religion, in Social Theory and Social Structure (rev. and enlarged edition; Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1957), pp. 28-30. I am concerned to get beyond structural-functional analysis to the "feel" of the tensions operative in the patterns within which persons live and work.

[2] In dealing with these various patterns I shall use material from the Danforth Foundation Ministry Survey for the purpose of illustration rather than for proof. This means that I will indicate some of the major trends appearing in the ministers' answers to the survey statements, together with a

A. The Balance of Tensions in the Christian Pattern

The "Christian pattern" was formed as men reacted to the event of Jesus the Christ. The value embodied in this pattern can be symbolized on the very broadest level as "new life" for men (as "health" is the broadest statement of the value served by medicine). Pointing to Jesus the Christ, the Church says, "He came that we might have life, and have it more abundantly" (John 10:10). Many words have been used for the same thing--salvation, justification, regeneration, redemption, election, conversion, blessing--but there has always been involved the message of a life that is changed or qualitatively different in some way, whether this life is man's earthly one or a life after death.

In forming patterns of the Christian life, the Church has to face four major problems: (a) making cognitive interpretations of what God has done (L); (b) indicating the possibilities and the demands of the individual's relationship to God (I); (c) telling of hopes, or what God will do for men and what men must do to receive (G); and (d) specifying the relationship of Christians to the world, in mission and in norms

---

few examples of correlations between various statements. The statistical analysis of the survey data is in process, and the related questions of whether this data proves the action field theory and whether the theory accounts for the variations in the data can only be answered at a later date. My main concern in this paper is the development of the theory.

of interaction (A). It has formed answers to these problems in the midst of such major tensions as those between _God and man_, the _other-worldly_ and _this-worldly_, the _Church_ and the _world_, _sin_ and _grace_, _faith_ and _action_, _stability_ and _change_, _good_ and _evil_. That the Church saw the necessity for these tensions and refused to release them may be seen in some of its historic decisions: against Docetism and Arianism, that Christ is both God and man;[1] against Marcion, that God is both Judge and Redeemer;[2] against Manichaeism, that Christianity is not part of some syncretistic world religion and that there is no easy separation of the "perfect" and the less-than-perfect;[3] against Montanism, that the church cannot simply withdraw from the world;[4] and against Pelagianism, that God's action and man's action cannot be substituted the one for the other.[5]

Within the Church as a pattern of institutionalized norms, the tensions represent real opposing pulls. Parsons' concepts, as they are arranged in the action field figure, give some indications of the types of tensions that are operating:

---

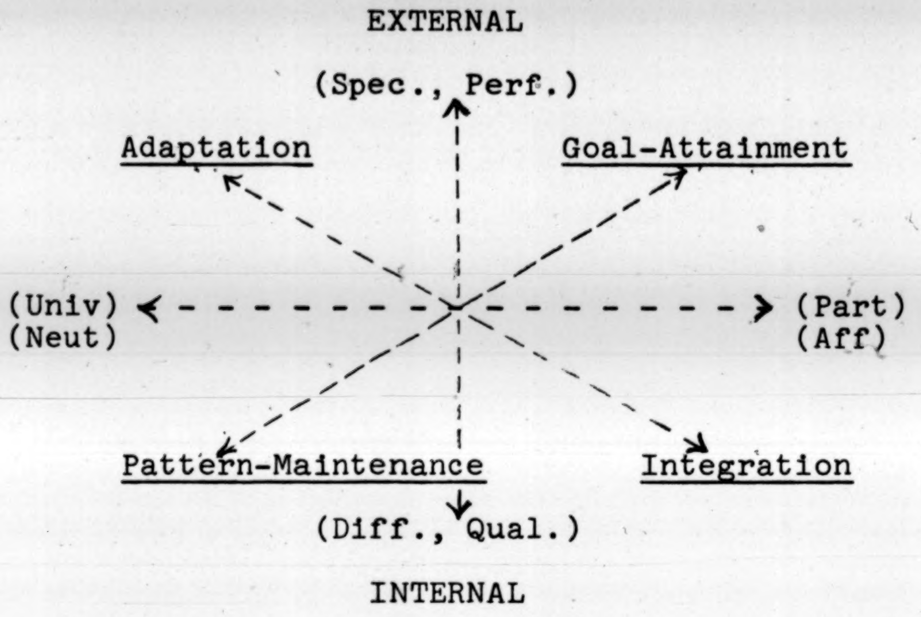
[1] Williston Walker, _A History of the Christian Church_, revised by Cyril C. Richardson, Wilhelm Pauck, and Robert T. Handy (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1959), pp. 51-53, 131-139.

[2] _Ibid_., pp. 54-55.

[3] _Ibid_., pp. 98-99.

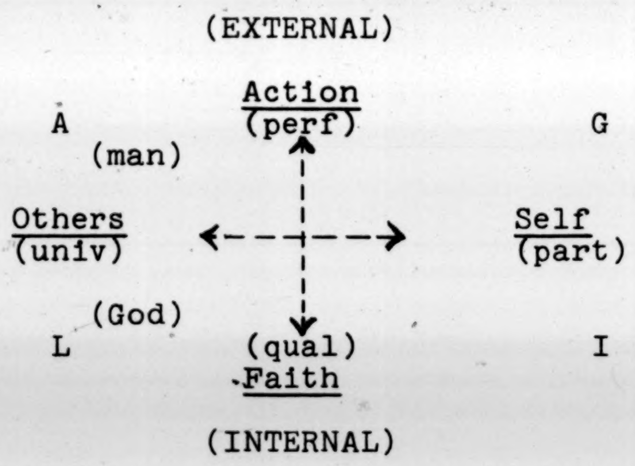
[4] _Ibid_., pp. 55-56.

[5] _Ibid_., pp. 168-171.



Let us spell these tensions out on several levels of the Christian pattern.

The encompassing tension-pattern is this:



On the level of the Christian's relationship to God, the questions become:

(A) What must I do for God?	(G) What does God do for me?
(L) What am I before God?	(I) How am I related to God?

On the level of cognitive justification or *theory*, the issues are these:

(A) *Reason* The interpretation of the gospel in terms of general cognitive patterns	(G) *Works* The specification of world-views to actions that must be taken
(L) *Revelation* Telling the story of God's action; embodying it in doctrines, creeds, Scripture	(I) *Faith* Personal response to God's action; commitment; experience of God and internalization of world-view of the gospel

On the level of the structuring of the institutional church in relation to its situation, these patterns may be contrasted:

(A) "Task force" or *mission*	(G) *Organizational church*; or, in a different case, the *cult*
(L) Church as holy, or *ecclesia*	(I) Church *community*, or *sect*

To anticipate the discussion in the following chapters, the prevailing images of the clergyman stressed in each of the directions would be:

(A) Internal: the *specialist* External: the *prophet*	(G) The *organization man* or the instrumental, task-oriented *leader*
(L) The *priest* The *preacher*	(I) The *pastor* or the *evangelist*; the expressive leader

When the tension is "unbalanced" toward one or another of the four directions, these kinds of extremes would be likely to appear:

(A)
(a) rationalism
(b) broad universalism

(G)
(a) Magic
(b) cynical pragmatism

(L)
Absolutism:
(a) doctrinal
(b) sacramentalism

(I)
(a) Pietism, mysticism
(b) subjectivism, rigid moralism, fanaticism

Certain characteristic tensions are present between pairs of the directions of the action field. In general, the pulls of pattern-maintenance and integration are toward stability, the pulls of adaptation and goal-attainment are toward change. This appears most strikingly in the area between pattern-maintenance and adaptation, where the external-internal distinction poses the problem of when to adapt to the changing situation and when to judge it by established internal value-norms. The tension between pattern-maintenance and goal-attainment is marked by the opposing pulls toward quality and neutrality at the one pole and performance and affectivity at the other; ministers' criticisms of the institutional church, for example, are value-judgments made from the point of view of an image of what the Church is called by God to be. Between goal-attainment and integration, on the level of the church as collectivity, the tension is between specificity and performance at one pole and diffuseness and quality at the other--specifically, the tension between building relationships of understanding and loyalty between church members as a *community*, and calling upon members to concentrate and expend their resources and themselves upon an *organizational* goal. The axis between adaptation and integration is a particularly important one, for it marks the closedness or openness of the church community--how much it extends itself into the world, without adapting so far as to lose its integrity.

B. An Example of the Balancing of Tensions

As an illustration of how a particular group of ministers maintains a balance of tensions within their understanding of the Christian faith, I have chosen to examine the answers of the United Presbyterian, U.S.A., ministers to selected statements from Part I (Religious Beliefs) of the Danforth Ministry Survey.[1] The letters L, I, G, A in parentheses represent the action field directions these ministers choose on a particular question. Where campus ministers' and parish ministers' opinions do not coincide, the campus ministers' answers are set off in parentheses.

---

[1] On the Survey, the ministers were asked to answer the statements by circling numbers on a Likert scale ranging from 1 ("strongly disagree") to 6 ("strongly agree"). Numbers 3 and 4 were defined in the instructions as "almost neutral."

The figures given in the table beginning on the next page are the sums of the percentages of Presbyterian ministers circling 4 or 5 for a statement--or, where the figures are preceded by a minus sign, the sums of the percentages of ministers circling 1 or 2 ("disagree").

Ministers' answers to the survey have thus far been tabulated according to (1) denomination; (2) assignment--parish clergy, campus ministers, and ministers serving parish churches near campuses; (3) theological positions, self-perceived--fundamentalist, conservative, neo-orthodox, liberal, or universalist-unitarian; and (4) age. For the purpose of illustrating the action field theory I have concentrated here upon one denomination (and that, usually, the one with the most liberal views); I have dropped out the campus-parish ministers; and I have not broken the answers down by theological positions or age. These limitations obscure a great deal of the rich variety of opinions in the total sample, so the opinions of these Presbyterian parish ministers should not be taken as representative of the whole group; the campus ministers' views are much more similar across denominational lines, excepting Missouri Synod Lutherans.

Balance of Tensions in Beliefs of Some Presbyterian Ministers

Question No.		(Action* pull)	Percentages#	
			PM	CM
I 25.	There can be no love of God apart from compassion for one's fellow man.	(A)	93.5	96.9
but -1.	What a man believes about God doesn't matter a great deal as long as he leads a life of concern for others.	(L)	-91.1	-67.0
5.	The Christian church can only be its true self as it exists for humanity.	(A)	72.7	89.7
but 3.	Only in Christianity is the one true God revealed and confessed.	(I)	61.8	(32.0)
32.	For the Christian, the Bible has a primacy over all other sources of knowledge of God.	(L)	86.1	67.0
but 81.	We must try to translate the language of Biblical faith into meaningful contemporary symbols because biblical faith is not rigid doctrine.	(A)	72.1	95.9
61.	Religious institutions often show indifference to human suffering.	(A)	68.5	86.6
but 57.	The church is holy, and not to be equated with other human institutions.	(L)	53.4	(13.4)
108.	God's creation is continuous and the world is still in the making.	(A)	74.9	88.7
but 107.	Every area of man's life is corrupted by sin.	(L)	80.1	79.4

(continued)

---

*Adaptation, Latency (pattern-maintenance), Goal-Attainment, Integration; the letters in parentheses represent the direction ministers have chosen.

#PM--parish ministers; CM--campus ministers. Percentages given are sums of percentages of ministers answering either 4 or 5 ("agree"), or, where sign is *minus*, figures are those for ministers answering 1 or 2 ("disagree").

Question No.		(Action* pull)	Percentages#	
			PM	CM
16.	I have greater admiration for an honest agnostic seeking truth than a man who is certain that he has the complete truth.	(A)	74.6	88.7
but -53.	There is no longer any need for God as a working hypothesis in morals, politics, science, or religion, and in the name of intellectual honesty such working hypotheses should be dropped.	(L)	-93.4	-56.7
and -8.	I don't feel Jesus to be the Son of God any more than all men are children of God.	(L)	-93.8	-81.4
64.	I believe that the virgin birth of Jesus was a biological miracle.	(L)	51.6	(3.1)
15.	I accept Jesus' physical resurrection as an objective historical fact in the same sense that Lincoln's physical death was a historical fact.	(L)	66.3	(18.6)
-13.	The church should be a place of refuge and of quiet reflection away from the world.	(G) self	-78.8	-87.6
-98.	The faith of the Christian protects him from suffering, doubt, or fear that he might have to endure if he was not a Christian.	(G) self	-77.4	-89.7
and 42.	The church should be taking a much more active role in the struggle for world peace.	(G) others	77.7	94.9
100.	An ethical decision which may be right in one situation may be wrong in another situation.	(A)	73.8	95.9
89.	I expect to live after death.	(G)	87.1	(44.3)
but 40.	We need greater emphasis on the joy and delight which comes from living in this world rather than on joy to be found after death.	(A)	70.7	91.8
103.	I don't think it is as important to worry about life after death as about what one can do in this life.	(A)	63.8	88.7
14.	Hell does not refer to a special location after death, but to the experience of self-estrangement, guilt, and meaninglessness in this life.	(A)	53.8	89.7

The impressions conveyed by this patterning of beliefs can be interpreted in this way:

a) These ministers place service to the world above the internal demands of maintaining a quiet and harmonious church community (choice of adaptation and missional goal-attainment over integration).

b) They are not willing to make religion an instrument for the gaining of their own worldly needs, and they feel that Christians must act for the attaining of goals such as world peace (missional over self-serving goal-attainment).

c) In attitudes toward the world, they maintain the balance between appreciation of the changing nature of the situation and the need for judgment upon the evil present in the world (adaptation and pattern-maintenance).

d) They are aware of the sources of their faith-story in the Bible and in their beliefs, but they see the need to interpret Biblical faith in modern language; and they do not maintain that they have the complete truth (pattern maintenance and adaptation, on the level of theory).

e) They pay lip-service to the traditional goal of other-worldly life after death, but it is not to them a matter of ultimate concern (adaptation).

f) But they hold tightly to the God-guaranteed norms of doctrine such as the uniqueness of Christianity, the divinity of Jesus, the holiness of the Church, the virgin birth and the physical resurrection (pattern-maintenance on the level of theory guaranteed by internal norms). The campus ministers in this group differ most radically from their parish colleagues in this respect. They have taken the further step of adapting theology to their age--though their agreements with several of the statements might seem to indicate that their belief is that there is no God, and Jesus is His Son. Whether these ministers are experiencing strain between their internal normative interpretations and their worldly action is a matter for furhter investigation.

C. Unbalancing the Tensions: Extremes of the Action Field

Human action patterns are formed by the interrelationships of norms--definitive understandings--which are useful as instruments for the enhancement, interpretation, and putting-into-action of shared views of life, or shared desires. When the boundaries between values and norms disappear and the means become ends in themselves, or when a norm if defended as though it were itself a value, the flexibility of the balance of tensions is destroyed and new balances can usually be attained only after conflict.

Using clustered groups of statements from the Danforth Ministry Survey, I shall point out some of the interpretive and guiding norms by which the Church has structured the balance-of-tensions of its faith; then I shall use other clusters of statements to indicate some of the ways in which this pattern is thrown out of balance.

1:a. Norms of pattern-maintenance--. An appreciation for the necessity for pattern-maintenance in the Christian pattern includes an awareness of the *sources* of the faith, the need for some *commitment to values*, the importance of *structures*, and the demand for interpretation of faith in doctrine and theology. For the group of United Presbyterian ministers whose survey answers I am using for illustration, this awareness is expressed in such statements as these:[1]

(Part) (No.)
I. 51. For the Christian, God is both revealed and hidden in the words and acts of Jesus.
I. 107. Every area of man's life is corrupted by sin.
III. 3. The presuppositions, values, and faith of faculty members influence their teaching, as much as similar factors influence the preaching and teaching of ministers.
V. 48. Parents are too easy on their children these days.
V. 56. For two people in our society to be totally committed to each other, they must acknowledge this with a marriage ceremony, rather than simply relying on a private commitment of love.

1:b. Extremes of pattern-maintenance--. The pattern-maintenance emphasis upon stability may become *absolutism*, in which the norms are defended as unchangeable. The clusters below illustrate this tendency in two forms, doctrinal and moral, and in two spheres, the church and the society.[1]

---

[1] This cluster of statements, and the ones to follow, were obtained by this process: (a) Using the action field theory as a guide, I grouped the statements of the Danforth Ministry Survey according to how I thought the theory would predict that they would measure the same "pull"--pattern-maintenance, integration, goal-attainment, or adaptation; (b) correlation matrices were made of these grouped statements for the Presbyterian ministers answering the survey--a group of some 1400 men; (c) from these correlation matrices, I have chosen for illustration of the action field tensions some clusters of statements which seem to point to varying trends in the ministers' answers.

At the end of this chapter will be found tables of the coefficients of correlations between the statements in each of the clusters I use. Since it is not my purpose to examine the survey data further than as it illustrates the action field of the ministry in broad perspectives, I do not make any judgments of the level of significance of these coefficients. The rule-of-thumb by which I selected the clusters was to include for the most part only those statements with coefficients of correlation above 20, though there appear within the clusters some lower coefficients between certain paired statements.

i) Doctrinal Pattern-Maintenance: Churchly

I. 7. I believe in a literal or nearly literal interpretation of the Bible.
I. 15. I accept Jesus' physical resurrection as an objective historical fact in the same sense that Lincoln's physical death was a historical fact.
I. 46. Scriptures are the inspired and inerrant Word of God not only in matters of faith but also in historical, geographical, and other secular matters.
I. 64. I believe that the virgin birth of Jesus was a biological miracle.
I. 80. Adam and Eve were individual historical persons.

ii) Moral Pattern-Maintenance: Churchly

I. 18. The primary mission of the church is to save sinners.
I. 35. I believe in a divine judgment after death where some shall be rewarded and others punished.
I. 50. There should be a stricter observance of the Sabbath, the religious day of rest.
I. -87. There is probably as much blasphemy in the pulpit on Sunday mornings as in taverns on Saturday nights.
I. 92. People should do what is morally right without giving thought to the consequences.
I. 111. Sin is primarily the infraction of God's law.

iii) Doctrinal Pattern-Maintenance: Social

V. 29. Any means must, if necessary, be used to preserve America from the menace of atheistic Communism.
V. 36. The identification of Goldwater with extremist groups during the recent election was nothing more than a great political smear by his opposition.

---

[1] I do not intend to imply that absolutism in theology is necessarily accompanied by absolutism in social views. I am also not making a rigid distinction between "doctrinal" and "moral" pattern-maintenance. These clusters are mainly differentiated by this factor, that "doctrine" is more a matter of ideology (interpretation of the situation), "morals" are more a matter of feeling (norms for doing what's right).

V. 39. The only real victory over Communism is total victory.
V. 51. Although popular views on sex have changed in the past quarter of a century, procreation is still the major purpose and intercourse between marital partners should be carried out with moderation.

iv) Moral Pattern-Maintenance: Social

V. 17. Publications that dwell on sex and use obscene language should be banned from the newsstand.
V. 18. Congressional investigations into un-American activities are essential to our nation's security.
V. 37. The philosophy of modern liberalism is leading to an alteration of family, morals, law and order.
V. 46. Women who engage in premarital sexual intercourse are almost certain to have serious emotional difficulties in marriage.
V. 49. College teachers and counselors are too lenient in advising students about premarital sex.

2:a. Norms of Integration--. The integrative emphases are upon the personal and interpersonal values of the Christian pattern--the needs to respond to God, internalize life-stances, appropriate the meaning of faith for one's own life, and maintain understanding relationships in the particularity of the community. An appreciation of this personal life in community appears in statements such as these:

I. 36. The corporate body of the church, not the individual, should be charged with the responsibility to discern the nature of the call and the ordaining of a minister.
I. 62. Being a part of the community of forgiven sinners is as important a dimension of the Christian life as the assurance of my personal forgiveness.
V. 59. I do not believe in spanking children. Rewarding proper behavior and setting a good example are always more effective.
V. 61. It is always better to explain to a child why his behavior is wrong rather than to punish him.

2:b. Extremes of Integration--. The integrative emphasis upon the diffuse, personal qualities of relationship may become quietism and withdrawal from the world, where the inner personal or community faith becomes a substitute for, or a defense against, the demands of the world about one. Then the only meaning of things becomes, "What do they mean to me?" This extreme is observable in the cluster of statements below:

i) Integration as Withdrawal

I. 4. The Christian style of life is one of contentment with one's worldly possessions, forebearance toward others, and certainty of eternal life.

I. 13. The church should be a place of refuge and of quiet reflection away from the world.

III. 17. Campus ministers should give their chief attention to freshmen and other new students who are away from home and church for the first time.

III. 27. The churches, in their approach to higher education, should concentrate their funds and professional personnel in the small, liberal arts, church related colleges.

III. 38. The first responsibility of a campus minister is that of keeping in touch with the spiritual needs of students of his own denomination.

IV. 6. Most people with problems need a deeper and better faith rather than a psychiatrist.

3:a. Norms of Goal-Attainment--. The demands of the goal-attainment pull within the action field are the demands for performance, for the spelling out of values in specific actions, using resources to accomplish purposes. The man wise in the requirements of leadership has an awareness of the uses of power, the limitations of situations, and the possibilities for changing things. The ministers whose answers are represented by the following cluster of statements are not simply trying to adapt the Church to the world, but are seeking to move it to specific action:[1]

---

[1] The reader will note a coalescence here of the external pulls of adaptation and goal-attainment. I have put this

I. 21. The church must speak to the great social issues of our day, or else its very existence is threatened.

I. 42. The church should be taking a much more active role in the struggle for world peace.

V. 10. I am in basic sympathy with northern ministers and students who have gone to the South to work for civil rights.

V. 33. Red China should be admitted to the United Nations.

V. 34. I believe that I am politically and economically more liberal than the majority of the members of my congregation.

V. 50. Parents should give their children more direction than they do.

V. 66. Christian education needs to bring laymen face to face with urban problems and propose solutions.

V. 70. Couples have a moral obligation to limit their family size to the number of children they can afford to care for.

3:b. Extremes of Goal-Attainment--. The emphasis of goal-attainment upon action and upon "getting things accomplished" looks quite different when it becomes an emphasis upon meeting one's own--or one's group's own--worldly desires. Then the extremes are either reliance upon one's own action with no outside interference allowed, or the expectation of magic performances from "religion" viewed as instrumental for making certain things happen. The clusters below illustrate two goal-attainment extreme patterns, the patterns which I would call magic and the "Lone Manager":

1) Goal-Attainment as Magic: Worldly Goals, Supernatural Means

I. 43. Norman Vincent Peale's positive thinking is the kind of religion quite often present in my own sermons.

---

cluster of statements under "goal-attainment" to emphasize those ministers' appreciation for action, taking account of the necessity for facing the specific demands of the social context. An extreme "adapter" might not have as strong an appreciation for working through social institutions.

I. 63. Organized religion is the one sure infallible foundation of life.

I. 69. The spiritual healing of Oral Roberts is a modern example of the supernatural presence of God in this world.

IV. 8. A faith in God will cure most mental illness if that faith is strong enough.

IV. 9. If a minister cannot solve his own mental problems, he cannot help others solve theirs.

ii) Goal-Attainment as Radical Self-Reliance

V. 22. The war against poverty can best be fought by the Federal Government leaving private enterprise alone so that they can create more jobs.

V. 23. The government is providing too many services that should be left to private enterprise.

V. 26. Most people who live in poverty could do something about their situation if they really wanted to.

V. 31. If the Republicans had nominated a moderate or "mainstream" candidate for president I would have voted for the Republican candidate in the recent election.

V. 43. It is often who you know rather than what you know that is important in getting ahead.

V. 64. Suburban people have enough community problems to meet without accepting any more economic and political burdens of the central city.

4:a. Norms of Adaptation--. The adaptive direction within the action field is the direction of adjustment to changing situations. Here should be placed concerns for change, for situational relevance, for the universal and external over against the particular and internal. The internal flow through the adaptive direction is also important--this is the concern for the provision of the resources necessary for the needs of persons in the pattern of relationships. The primary tensions of adaptation are probably more often pulls against pattern-maintenance and integration than against goal-attainment, except where the particularistic concerns of internal goal-attainment clash with the universalistic concerns of adaptation.

Ministers whose theological norms are adaptive might make these statements:

I. 16. I have greater admiration for an honest agnostic seeking truth than a man who is certain that he has the complete truth.
I. 17. My understanding of the central doctrines of the Christian faith has changed considerably during my ministry.
I. 34. The Vatican Council appears to make possible a more ecumenical witness to the Gospel.
I. 47. An understanding of the language of myth and symbol are [sic] as important for interpreting Biblical literature as history and archaeology.

4:b. Extremes of Adaptation--. The dual tension between adaptation and pattern-maintenance and integration indicates that the extreme emphasis upon adaptation could lead to these kinds of results: normlessness, capture by the pattern-maintenance sector of a rationality other than the Christian one (which is to say, capture by another ideology), cynicism and coldness, or narrow specialization to the exclusion of value-judgments. I do not know that this interpretation is justified, but I venture to suggest that in the cluster of statements below the coefficients of correlation--see tables at end of chapter--indicate a kind of cynicism where loss of theological norms has led to a stronger moral absolutism. The first three statements are correlated positively; the last six statements are correlated positively with each other; but there are strong negative correlations between the two sets of statements.

i) Tensions between Theological and Social Adaptation

I. 108. God's creation is continuous and the world is still in the making.

I. 109. I believe Christ was identified and recognized by his disciples after his death, but this does not necessitate a corporal appearance.

I. 112. Our world is changing so fast that a person has to act in terms of circumstances confronting him rather than expecting absolute guidance from the past.

III. 40. A principle task of the campus minister should be to help students discover a new meaning of God that is relevant for the modern world.

IV. 5. I would welcome the opportunity to learn more about psychology and counseling.

V. 45. Although never a totally satisfactory answer to family problems, divorce is sometimes the best solution.

V. 53. The churches should initiate inquiries into the implications of Christian convictions for the relations of the sexes, not assuming that there is any actual consensus in the churches on sexual morality.

V. 60. Birth control information should be available to all persons.

V. 62. The changes in our society affecting sexual relations are so profound that old patterns of morality are not adequate for the future.

5. Summary: the values of tension--. The question may have occurred to the reader as to whether there is really very much difference between the persons who have moved to the four extremes of the Christian action field--are they not all absolutists, all believers in magic, all using faith as an instrumental means to the ends they have selected as the only important ones? Such a question is justified, for the psychological patterns of these persons might very well turn out to be similar; defensiveness in holding on to established patterns is, after all, the opposite side of compulsive defensiveness against any such patterns. What differentiates the extreme patterns I have presented is more the form in which they are institutionalized than the world-views or the values which they embody.

If one were to attempt a normative definition of "the

Christian pattern," the most important thing that could be said is that *it is normative for this pattern to be a holding-together of tensions*. No part of the pattern--doctrine, institution, worship, service, faith, or whatever--is understandable without its opposites and its neighbors in the pattern of the action field. The institutionalization of the Christian world-orientation is a function of two sets of norms: those shaping the *internal structure* of the pattern (i.e., norms of pattern-maintenance and integration, on cultural, collective, and personal levels), and those shaping the *process of interaction* between Christians and their varying contexts. These cannot be separated, nor arranged for at different times--the "action field" is continually being shaped by the dynamics of response-and-commitment between internal understandings and external demands. For the flexibility of a balance-of-tensions in which action can be a response to pulls from any direction, the *norms* of the institutionalized Christian pattern must arise at the point where situational specifics and internalized universals make contact.

D. Implications for Legitimation of Ministerial Authority

The actions of a Christian minister cannot be interpreted adequately without keeping ever in mind that he acts as a *member of a community of faith* which has a shared world-view. This world-view has been presented as an action field which has built into it a value-tension such that when the tension is dissipated the Church loses its unique character.

Authority in the ministry is not a direct product of the values of Christian faith, but of the decisions which have been made concerning the norms by which values are institutionalized. The choice of these norms is the process which is meant by the term "legitimation." Differing patterns of ministerial authority can be interpreted through the action field theory by investigation of two things: (a) for the pattern of relationships as a whole within which the minister works, which ones of the four pulls of the action field are most emphasized?; (b) within this established patterns, what norms serve the functions of meeting the demands for pattern-maintenance, goal-attainment, adaptation, and integration? (Thus, to take an example, the pattern within which a free-church evangelist works is strongly weighted toward integration with its factors of affectivity, particularity, quality, and diffuseness. Within this pattern the norms of pattern-maintenance, goal-attainment, integration, and adaptation are all strongly colored by the personal-integrative emphasis: the important anchors of pattern-maintenance are not first of all inerrant Scriptures, but the individual's belief in the Scriptures and his inner experience of conversion; the goal to be attained is seen as individual attainment of heaven; the form of the Church is the community of saved individuals; and adaptive norms have mainly to do with personal morality in the use or non-use of worldly goods and practices. It is not at all surprising that within this context the authority of the minister rests solidly upon his personal, inner call from God to preach.)

In the remaining part of this chapter I shall use the action field theory as the framework for pointing out some of the variations that have appeared in the Christian pattern on the levels of the four variables of legitimation. This is a matter of sketching the background against which particular patterns of ministerial authority can be interpreted.

1) Value-content--. The value which the Church seeks is "new life through Christ." But what this means to various Christians depends upon their normative decisions about several questions. The main questions seem to be these: Is this new life "other-worldly" or "this-worldly?" Is it to be sought only for the believer and his group, or for others (one form of the universal-particular tension)? Is it already given, or does one have to do something specific to achieve it (quality-performance)? Is it confined to a certain area, or does it permeate all of life (specific-diffuse)? Is it primarily a matter of God's doing something for one, or of one's being something before God (affectivity-neutrality)?

To state the tensions thus bluntly reveals, of course, that the accepted Christian answer to each question is "both." But in the process of institutionalization--establishing normative interpretations--Christians have decided between these alternatives. The differences between the many groups within Christianity can be interpreted as arising from a greater emphasis upon some of these alternatives than upon others; a state church and a sect are poles apart on the universal-particular continuum, for example. The center of the Christian pattern, where these tensions are held paradoxically together, cannot be exactly pinned down; but it can be envisioned through a survey of the patterns which form at the polar extremes of the action field.

2) Cognitive Justification--. The Christian faith is centered on the statement that through Jesus of Nazareth, whom the Church acknowledges as the Christ, God was acting to reconcile men to Himself.[1] But this Jesus Christ means different things to different Christians, according to the directions of the action field tensions they set first in order of priority. For the pattern-maintenance oriented Christians, he is the Founder; for the adapters, he is the Principle or the Prophet; for the goal-attainers, he is the Miracle-Worker or the Leader; for the integrators, he is the Friend or the Inner Voice.

Between the Christ-event and themselves, Christians have recognized several normative links: the Bible, doctrines, the Church, personal experience, the sacraments, and reason. The various patterns of cognitive justification of the Christian pattern have appeared as one or another of these links became the chief anchor of legitimation.[2] Four of the major patterns of legitimation that may be pointed out are those centering on _doctrine_, _personal commitment_, the _sacraments_, or _action-in-the world_; these may be found in combination within specific churches, as in certain Lutheran churches where doctrine and sacraments are the chief anchors, or certain Methodist churches where personal commitment and action are combined.

---

[1] II Corinthians 5:19.

[2] I shall not deal here with the arguments, but for the feel of the battle that raged at the turn of this century over the sources of religious authority, see: Auguste Sabatier, Religions of Authority and the Religion of the Spirit, trans. Louise Seymour Houghton (New York: McClure, Phillips, & Co., 1904); James Martineau, The Seat of Authority in Religion (5th ed.; London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1905); P. T. Forsyth, The Principle of Authority in Relation to Certainty, Sanctity, and Society: An Essay in the Philosophy of Experimental

Change and reformation within the Church can in one way be interpreted as resulting when an established internal structure of the Church is seen to be inadequate to a changed situation. Then for the established anchors of legitimation are substituted others, to become in their turn static absolutes. Robert Clyde Johnson points out, for example, how the Reformation substituted the Bible and personal faith for the seven sacraments and the hierarchical Church as sources of authority; but these two emphases in their turn became pitted against each other, with the extremes of legitimation of authority coming to be an inerrant Scripture on the one hand and a radical personal experience of salvation on the other.[1] There have also been cases where a particular philosophical system or a particular social concern have been the real

---

Religion (New York: Hodder and Stoughton, n.d.); A.v.C.P. Huizinga, _Authority: The Function of Authority in Life and Its Relation to Legalism in Ethics and Religion_ (Boston: Sherman, French & Co., 1911); Edgar Young Mullins, _Freedom and Authority in Religion_ (Philadelphia: The Griffith & Rowland Press, 1913); and J. MacBride Sterrett, _The Freedom of Authority: Essays in Apologetics_ (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1905).

[1] Robert Clyde Johnson, _Authority in Protestant Theology_ (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1959).

sources of legitimation of action, as all of Christianity was seen through these glasses.

The situation at present in Christianity with regard to cognitive interpretation of the faith in the context of its culture is one of real tension and uncertainty. As Gustafson remarks,

> No matter what his faith and tradition are, the American clergyman stands between an ancient tradition and a culture in which God is remote, if not dead. This situation is felt to be a deep and agonizing crisis for many of the most sensitive and educated clergy. Consequently they are seeking those ways of work which will overcome the radical separation of religious life from the mainstream of culture.[1]

3) Internalization of Values (Motivation)--. A Christian may be committed to his faith for many reasons, some of them conflicting. Without going into all of the kinds of questions that could be raised about the internal meanings of the faith to various people, I would make the single judgment that it is probably most fruitful to examine ministerial motivations in terms of the adaptive-integrative tension. This is primarily because the value-norm of Christian faith is "love

---

[1] James M. Gustafson, "The Clergy in the United States," *Daedalus*, XCII, 4 (Fall, 1963), p. 737.

Other clergymen adjust in different ways, as Gustafson points out: "In the absence of clear authority grounded in a theological tradition, two substitutes are found. One is the individual conscience of the minister, who directs his activities in the light of his personal beliefs, which may or may not ring true to traditional ones. The other is the intellectual and religious climate that prevails. He may demonstrate his skills as a therapist or as a commentator on literature, or he may become an efficient promoter of the denominational program" (*ibid*., p. 736).

I would say, in terms of the action field, that ministers use *three* substitutes. In the absence of theological tradition (L), they may rely on conscience (I), culture (A), or denominational program (G).

of God and neighbor," and ministers would express their motivations in adaptive-integrative language even if they had worldly pattern-maintenance-goal-attainment aims in mind.

Entering students in many theological seminaries take the Theological School Inventory[1] as an instrument meant to help them evaluate their motivations for the ministry. The TSI is made up of these scales:

(D) A scale measuring Definiteness of commitment to the ministry
(NL, SL) Scales judging the nature of the student's "call": Natural Leading or Special Leading
(CC) Concept of the Call; student's normative image of the call
(FL) A Flexibility scale

--and seven scales dealing with factors in the student's motivation for the ministry:

(A) Acceptance by others (who thought he'd make a good minister)
(I) Intellectual concern
(F) Self-Fulfillment
(L) Leadership success (in church activities)
(E) Evangelistic Witness
(R) Concern for Social Reform
(P) Service to Persons

A table of intercorrelations of students' scores on these scales, based on three separate samples,[2] shows that Flexibility is correlated positively with Intellectual Concern, Social Reform, and Service to Persons--and negatively with Self-Fulfillment. Self-Fulfillment is correlated positively with Evangelistic Witness, Special Leading, and Definiteness--and negatively with Intellectual Concern, Social

---

[1] James E. Dittes, Vocational Guidance of Theological Students: A Manual for the Use of the Theological School Inventory (Dayton, Ohio: The Ministry Studies Board, 1964).

[2] Ibid., Appendix IV, Table 1.

Reform, and Service to Persons. I would interpret these correlations as marking the interests of the adaptive and integrative directions, respectively. The polarization along the universalism-particularism and performance-quality continua is evident.

4) Situation--. The minister's work will be conditioned not only by the internal structuring of his community (integration) but also by the normative ways in which that community interacts with the world (adaptation). The action field directions provide some insight into what norms of interaction with the world the church might follow: (i) strong emphasis upon a combination of pattern-maintenance and integration will mark withdrawal from the world; (ii) over-emphasis upon a combination of adaptation and goal-attainment will mark the church which has become a "religious resource" for societal and personal needs; (iii) the church and the world might be seen as related and complementary, each necessary to the other (a combination of adaptation and pattern-maintenance); (iv) the church and the world might be seen as both ordained by God, but essentially unrelated and in two separate spheres (i.e., two separate action fields, one for church and one for world, each with its L, I, G, and A norms); or (v) the church might see itself as a task-force for action in the world, sometimes having to pronounce judgment and sometimes using itself as a resource for meeting specific needs which it sees (values drawn from within the Christian pattern, but norms drawn from the worldly situation--goal-attainment, integration,

and adaptation pulls are all from the world, but pattern-maintenance pulls are from the Church's relation to God).[1] No one of these ways of interaction with the world is "the" normative Christian pattern. The norms by which Christians relate themselves to their situations will emerge as a product of the balance-of-tensions of the Christian faith and the changing factors of social and cultural environments.

Perhaps the only judgment we may make about the constant factor in the Church's relation to the world is that the tensions are constant. If the polarities of the action field are valid interpretations of the kinds of pulls operative both within the Christian faith and the dynamics of history, they could serve as a framework for understanding why certain movements have arisen in the history of the Church and what kinds of reactions are to be expected when there is an overemphasis in one direction. The Reformation, for example, might be seen as reactions away from an established pattern toward adaptation and integration (i.e., the doctrines of the priesthood of believers and justification by grace through faith seem to move in these directions).

---

[1] These ways of interaction which I have formulated in action field terms are roughly congruent with H. Richard Niebuhr's five types of relationships between "Christ and Culture": (i) the separatists; (ii) the accommodationists; (iii) the synthesists; (iv) the dualists; and (v) the conversionists. (Christ and Culture [New York: Harper Torchbooks, Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1956], pp. 40-44.) Dr. Thomas Campbell of Yale Divinity School suggests that a sixth type should be added, those separatists who want to set up their own Christian culture apart from the culture in which they live.

E. Summary

Over the course of history, the Church has dealt with the matter of the legitimation of ministerial authority predominantly in terms of the establishment of norms by which the position of the minister in the Church is guaranteed by God's authority. The matter has been settled, that is, by setting up pattern-maintenance anchors at some infallible point such as a Church being given the keys of Heaven; an inerrant Scripture dictated by God; or a certain expected mode of inner experience of God. But the Church, of all groups, should recognize that making an absolute of a norm is a refusal to live by faith.

Where ministers claim an absolute supernatural guarantee of their authority, there is no possibility of raising the question of professional authority in their work. But where legitimation remains a process still to be carried on rather than an act already accomplished by God in the past, the dynamics of the tensions in the action field have a great deal of relevance to the matter of ministerial authority.

As the minister's actions cannot be interpreted except in the context of the tension between a shared total world-view and a continually changing situation, so the minister's authority cannot be legitimated by norms drawn from any single area within the action field. His authority must be related to tradition, without being traditional authority; it must be shaped by his relation to God, without being pure charismatic authority; it must be directed by structural norms of the

Church, without being legal authority; it must operate in the context of the Christian community, without being directed only within that particular community; and it must be functionally related to the situations of the environment without being guaranteed by monopoly over special knowledge from that environment. Authority in our day (and in the Christian community most especially) is legitimated not only by the givens but by the happenings to which it must be relevant.

Authority is, however, a particular form of influence--influence in normatively structured patterns of relationships where there are certain expectations regulating the use of power according to shared world-interpretations, shared goals, shared relationships, and shared reactions to the dynamics of situations. In the chapters to follow I shall be dealing more directly with these normative structures in which ministers work; the balance-of-tensions of the Christian faith-field is always the context in which these normative orderings take on significance.

CORRELATION MATRICES FOR CLUSTERS OF STATEMENTS INDICATING THE TENSIONS OF THE ACTION FIELD AND EXTREME POSITIONS

1. Pattern-Maintenance

General Norms:

	I. 51	107	III. 3	V. 48	56
I. 51	--	40	53	45	53
107		--	48	44	52
III. 3			--	61	66
V. 48				--	72
56					--

i) Doctrinal, Churchly

	I. 7	15	46	64	80
I. 7	--	28	34	42	45
15		--	11	54	24
46			--	20	52
64				--	35
80					--

ii) Moral, Churchly

	I. 18	35	50	87	92	111
I.18	--	35	37	-25	27	28
35		--	33	-29	27	25
50			--	-27	20	35
87				--	-20	-27
92					--	26
111						--

iii) Doctrinal, Social

	V. 29	36	39	51
V. 29	--	54	51	47
36		--	48	44
39			--	40
51				--

iv) Moral, Social

	V. 17	18	37	46	49
V. 17	--	62	49	57	63
18		--	53	51	58
37			--	43	50
46				--	59
49					--

2. Integration

General Norms

	I.36	62	V.59	61
I.36	--	30	21	27
62		--	22	31
V.59			--	54
61				--

Integration as Withdrawal

	I.4	13	III.17	27	38	IV.6
I. 4	--	32	27	31	26	24
13		--	21	44	19	23
III.17			--	33	32	21
27				--	28	29
38					--	27
IV. 6						--

3. Goal-Attainment

General Norms (External Mission)

	I. 21	42	V. 10	33	34	50	66	70
I. 21	--	35	31	35	41	34	43	44
42		--	35	41	43	34	47	42
V. 10			--	39	42	18	37	27
33				--	66	40	56	53
34					--	57	68	65
50						--	73	80
66							--	18
70								--

i) Goal-Attainment as "Magic": Other-worldly Means for Worldly Ends

	I. 43	63	69	IV. 8	9
I. 43	--	32	40	36	21
63		--	32	36	18
69			--	39	19
IV. 8				--	33
9					--

(Goal-Attainment, continued)

ii) Goal-Attainment as Radical Self-Reliance

	V. 22	23	26	31	43	64
V. 22	--	55	50	40	35	46
23		--	63	59	43	43
26			--	44	45	48
31				--	50	37
43					--	42
64						--

4. Adaptation

General: Theological

	I. 16	17	34	47
I. 16	--	23	56	32
17		--	20	59
34			--	35
47				--

Tensions: Theological and Social Adaptation

	I.108	109	112	III.40	IV.5	V.43	53	60	62
I.108	--	36	25	-36	-24	-53	-51	-51	-56
109		--	08	-28	-32	-52	-51	-52	-58
112			--	-15	-15	-23	-22	-23	-25
III. 40				--	24	45	43	40	50
IV. 5					--	47	45	49	52
V. 45						--	81	80	90
53							--	77	87
60								--	88
62									--

CHAPTER V

THE MINISTER'S STATUS

> So they came to Capernaum; and when he was indoors, he asked them, 'What were you arguing about on the way?' They were silent, because on the way they had been discussing who was the greatest. He sat down, called the Twelve, and said to them, 'If anyone wants to be first, he must make himself last of all and servant of all.'[1]

> Jesus called them to him and said, 'You know that in the world the recognized rulers lord it over their subjects, and their great men make them feel the weight of authority. That is not the way with you; among you, whoever wants to be great must be your servant, and whoever wants to be first must be the willing slave of all. For even the Son of Man did not come to be served but to serve, and to surrender his life as a ransom for many.'[2]

A status, I have said, is not a person but a position in a pattern of structured relationships; it is not a role--a pattern of actions--but a set of normatively defined rights and obligations which are meant to remain the same regardless of the individual occupying the status.[3] In the context of the discussion of authority, the criterion of status refers to the allocation of responsibilities to persons occupying certain positions in relation to other members of their groups:

> Authority is one particularly important type of superiority, that which involves the legitimized right (and/or

---

[1] Mark 9:33-35, New English Bible.

[2] Mark 10:42-45, ibid.

[3] See Ralph Linton, "Status and Role," in Wilson and Kolb, Sociological Analysis, pp. 211-212.

> obligation) to control the actions of others in a social relationship system. . . . The factor of legitimation means that authority is always an aspect of a status in a collectivity; in so far as this is not the case but there is only realistic ability to control others, we speak of power.[1]

In this chapter, I shall be dealing with some of the patterns of norms by which ministers have been placed in certain defined positions within the Church and the society.[2] I

---

[1] Parsons, "A Revised Analytical Approach to the Theory of Social Stratification," *Essays in Sociological Theory*, p. 409.

[2] Because in this study I am primarily concerned with an occupational *image* and its significance, I must neglect the important second meaning of "status," its reference to general position and prestige in the society. Among several points concerning the minister's status in this sense, these should be noted:

a) *There is no special prestige-status for the clergy in American society.* The prestige of a clergyman is roughly a function of the prestige of his parishioners (*ibid*., p. 426).

b) *Religious affiliation is associated with social class*. Denominations and local churches rarely cut evenly across class lines in their membership (see Liston Pope, "Religion and the Class Structure," in Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Martin Lipset, eds., *Class, Status and Power: A Reader in Social Stratification* [Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1953], pp. 316-323; Gerhard Lenski, *The Religious Factor: A Sociological Study of Religion's Impact on Politics, Economics, and Family Life* [rev. ed.; Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, Inc., 1961], Chapter 14, pp. 170-181). On the Danforth Ministry Survey (Part VIII, question 35), average percentages of parish ministers saying that the majority of their church members are in professional and managerial occupations were:

EPISC.	PRES.	METH.	AM. LUTH.	AM. BAPT.	MO. LUTH.
21.1%	15.9%	7.3%	5.7%	5.0%	3.9%

c) *For many men, the ministry is a path of upward social mobility*. On the Danforth Survey (Part VIII, question 7), percentages of ministers saying that their fathers' social standing was lower than their own were:

	EPISC.	PRES.	METH.	AM. LUTH.	AM. BAPT.	MO. LUTH.
Much lower:	13.9%	16.0%	16.0%	11.7%	19.5%	16.2%
Somewhat :	29.4%	35.7%	40.5%	44.0%	29.6%	35.8%

Corresponding percentages for the same answers given by 17,565 seminary students in another study were: "much lower," 19%;

shall show how these patterns embody certain balances-of-tensions within the action field considered in its integrative aspect, that is, as the field of relationships established between persons in the same collectivity. After dealing with traditional images of the ministry as order, office, and inner calling--and with newer images of the ministry as an organizational position or an expert's specialty, I shall raise some questions about the nature of ministerial statuses in the midst of changing contexts.

A. The Criterion of Status and the Action Field

If the action field is seen as the frame around the "big picture" of the factors involved in authority-relationships, then the criterion of status covers the area in the lower-right corner of the picture--the integrative problems of authority relationships, or the kinds of norms by which an authority-bearer and the persons with whom he interacts are bound into membership in the same collectivity. But then the action field theory needs to be used a second time to show the balance-of-tensions operating within the integrative context, with the kinds of statuses that are likely to appear as one or another side of this balance is emphasized.

Let us imagine a group of people who have something in common--that is, they are a group who are together consistently, not just a chance collection of strangers. They have de-

---

"slightly lower," 33% (Keith R. Bridston and Dwight W. Culver, Pre-Seminary Education: Report of the Lilly Endowment Study [Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1965], p. 223).

cided that they intend to give some structured form to their relationship, and they are considering the issues involved and what kinds of continuing problems they are likely to have to deal with.

In the first place, they have in common that which brought them together. They share some conviction about what is important in life, what is to be valued. They have a story, or rather, two stories: one story about what the world is like, and one story about their own history, in which there are many symbolic words and dramatic tales about the important events and people in which the meaning of their story is caught up. They recognize that they want to keep these values, this world-view, alive in their group, and they decide to make someone responsible for doing this. What this person is will be more important to them than what he does, for he is to study, celebrate, and symbolize their life-meanings; and they will expect him to remain somewhat apart from any immediate and personal demands they make on him, so he can exercise judgment from a stance before their common culture.

Second, they have in common their relationships with each other. They need to keep the group together, maintain loyalty to each other, and provide for needs of individual members. The person to whom they give this responsibility will need to keep their inner group in mind, placing it first in importance; and he will need to be one who will relate to them, and to whom they can relate, as "whole persons," not setting limits to concern for each other.

Third, they have in common the need to decide on actions in view of the possibilities open to them; they need to set up some processes by which decisions will be made and goals will be attained. The person to whom they entrust this responsibility will be judged by his ability to act, and he will have to have a strong awareness of the group's desires.

Fourth, they have in common an environment in which they must find resources for their needs and to which they must adjust as situations change. The person whom they will make their "link" with this environment should not be confined in his vision or his standards to the internal problems of the group, for he will have to show them the needs for change; but he will also have to concentrate on such knowledge of and interaction with the environment as will enable them to call on him for specific services.

This picture that I have presented is, of course, the outline of the four functional problems facing collectivities: pattern-maintenance, integration, goal-attainment, and adaptation. In sketching the norms that might be most important for persons occupying statuses located in each of these four areas, I have used the combinations of pattern variable alternatives which Parsons places in the four cells of the "integrative" block of the figure of the components of action systems:[1]

---

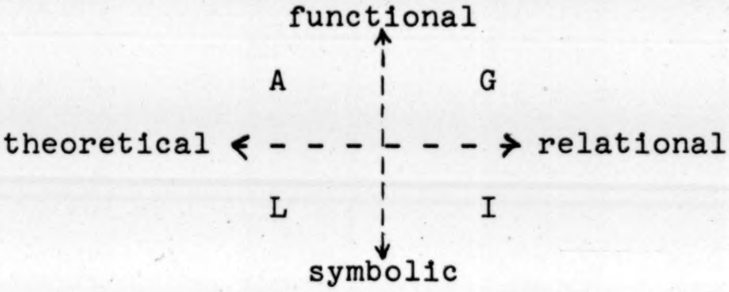
[1] These pattern variables and their interrelationships are discussed above, pp. 78-80.

EXTERNAL

Adaptation	Goal-Attainment
Universalism	Performance
Specificity	Affectivity
Pattern-Maintenance	**Integration**
Quality	Particularism
Neutrality	Diffuseness

INTERNAL

Another way of formulating the differences between the norms appropriate to these four "ideal type" statuses would be to distinguish *symbolic* from *functional* criteria, and *theoretical* from *relational* orientations:



Thus a status in the pattern-maintenance direction would be representative of the institutionalized *culture* of the collectivity; an adaptive status would have to deal with theoretical understandings of the *situation* and be functionally specific in order to provide resources from the environment. An integrative status would be representative of the solidarity of the group, and would have to deal with the *personality* needs of members; a goal-attainment status would also be oriented to group needs, but primarily on the level of the group as an *organization* in the *social system*.

I have been speaking thus far of four different kinds of status. In the case of a single status, there would have to be raised in analysis the question of what norms relating to each of the four directions of the action field are built into the status--i.e., in what ways are there settled for this status the problems of pattern-maintenance, goal-attainment, integration, and adaptation? For the status of lawyer in the lawyer-client collectivity, for example, the pattern-maintenance grounding is the law itself; the goal is the furthering of the client's interests; the adaptive resources are the lawyer's training and other resources, and the adaptive demands are the contingencies of the situation in the courts and with the other parties to the case; and the integrative norms specify dedication on the part of the lawyer, with no conflicts of interest, and trust on the part of the client, with no necessary facts withheld.

In authority-statuses, where there are assigned rights and obligations to direct the behavior of others, the distinctions I have made between the symbolic and functional and the theoretical and relational criteria of status correspond to the four components of the authority-relationship:

RESOURCES
(Functional)

A G

THEORY (Theoretical) ACTOR RECEIVERS OF ACTION (Relational)

L I

(Symbolic)
NORMATIVE
COMMITMENTS

A specific authority-status may be based upon a symbolic or direct relationship to a group's normative commitments, and vary between norms of theory and norms of group relationships.[1] Another might be functionally specified, and vary between attention to the possibilities of the situation and a particular group's desires.[2] The same descriptions would be made for theory-based authority varying between adaptation and pattern-maintenance and for relation-based authority varying between integration and goal-attainment. In each case, the legitimation of the authority is the factor which is held constant, and the norms of status are the variables. There may be L-G and A-I combinations in an authority-status, but it would seem necessary to say that in these cases there are two different bases of legitimation; in statuses which have diametrically opposite norms combined, the tension is likely to be greater than in those which have a single legitimation-base and norms drawn from neighboring directions in the action field. A minister can be a pastor and a prophet, but rarely both at the same time with the same people; he would have to establish the norms firmly in one direction and then move to include the other emphasis of the A-I continuum.

---

[1] It would vary, that is, between pattern-maintenance and integration pulls. Quality and diffuseness criteria are common to both, but pattern-maintenance is governed by universal and neutral norms of theory, integration by particularistic and affective norms of relationships.

[2] Here the tension is between the pulls of adaptation and goal-attainment. Performance and specificity criteria are common to both; then adaptation is governed by norms of universality and neutrality, goal-attainment by norms of affectivity and particularity.

B. Norms of Ministerial Status and Action Field Tensions

More important in understanding the ministry than the norms by which ministers are assigned special statuses are the statuses which they share with other Christians--first, the status of being Christians, sharing a common understanding of man's relationship to God through Christ; and, second, the status of church membership, being bound together as members of the same community. Because Christians share this faith and this community relationship, there is a sense in which any member of the community can speak with authority to another; his words will bear weight because of the common commitment.

Taking this shared status as context, then, by what kinds of norms are ministers "set apart" in special statuses? Four factors need to be considered: the minister's authority as defined by doctrine (L), his relationship to the members of the church community (I), his responsibilities for organizational leadership (G), and the specific tasks for which he needs to be trained (A). There will be some elements of each of these factors present in the definition of any minister's status--if only in a negative form as, for example, the belief that ministers do not need to be trained. But each of these factors represents a "pull" in the minister's action field, so different ministerial statuses will be marked by stronger emphasis on one or two factors than on others. Too great an emphasis upon the norms of one of the action field directions will unbalance the tensions in the status-definition and cause neglect of important responsibilities; as Everett Hughes says,

> An office may eventually become so ritualistic that the successive incumbents are but symbols rather than responsible agents. A rigid etiquette is observed in approaching them, and sentiments of reverence become so intense that the office is worshiped. This final point of impersonal institution of an office is reached at the cost of the more active functions of leadership.[1]

This observation I interpret as an example of what happens when the goal-attainment-pattern-maintenance tension is overbalanced toward pattern-maintenance with its norms of quality and neutrality as opposed to goal-attainment's norms of affectivity and performance.

In the following section of the chapter, I shall illustrate how some of the conceptions of ministerial status[2] combine doctrinal, communal, organizational, and functional norms into patterns emphasizing various extremes of the action field.

C. Various Patterns of Ministerial Status

1) The ministry as order--. Underlying the image of the ministry as a divinely-instituted order--a realm of human existence different from that of ordinary men--is the doctrine of the Church as a Holy Institution, founded by Christ and

---

[1] "Institutional Office and the Person," Men and Their Work, p. 60.

[2] Because the Danforth Ministry Survey instrument contains so few statements directly related to the issue of ministerial status, I shall draw upon other materials for defining these several conceptions. Some of the survey statements that would be useful in connection with indirect evidence from other statements for a discussion of status are numbers I. 3, 31, 36, 37, 38, 57, 59, 83, 85, 95; III. 12, 43; and V. 28. (See Appendix for a copy of the survey instrument.)

given the keys to the Kingdom of Heaven.[1] Two theological doctrines support the authority of the priest: the idea of apostolic succession and the idea of ordination as a sacrament effecting a permanent transformation of the nature of the individual.[2]

The most important act of the priest is the administration of the sacraments, the divinely-instituted means of grace.[3] He is regarded as the mediator between God and man, set apart by God for this work. All of his other functions in organizational leadership, pastoral care, teaching, or whatsoever are secondary to the sacramental action which is his alone to perform.

This conception of the ministry as order represents an emphasis upon the pattern-maintenance extreme of the action field, for these reasons: first, the minister is set-apart by institutionalized cultural norms of doctrine rather than by a particular church community (universalism);[1] second, the priestly status is ascribed to him rather than depending upon his performances (quality); and, third, his major work is governed by norms of neutrality rather than of affectivity (the Mass can be said with no communicants involved; it is seen as an objective action). The priestly status is thus based on traditional legitimation, according to Weber's typology.

---

[1] Matt. 16:13-19.

[2] See George H. Williams, "The Ministry in the Later Patristic Period (314-451)," in H. Richard Niebuhr and Daniel D. Williams, eds., The Ministry in Historical Perspectives (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1956), p. 75.

Anglicans share with Roman Catholics the doctrine of apostolic succession; see Charles Gore, The Church and the Ministry (new ed.; revised by C. H. Turner; London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1919), and Kenneth E. Kirk, ed., The Apostolic Ministry: Essays on the History and the Doctrine of Episcopacy (London: Hodder & Stoughton, Limited, 1946).

Roman Catholic doctrine is explicit upon the priest's belonging to a special order; his ordination is ". . . the indelible character imprinted on his soul which makes him a priest for ever, like Christ, whose priesthood he shares" (Pius XI, Encyclical on The Catholic Priesthood, quoted in Pierre Veuillot, The Catholic Priesthood: According to the Teaching of the Church--Papal Documents from Pius X to Pius XII, trans. John A. O'Flynn, L.S.S. [Westminster, Md.: The Newman Press, 1958], p. 208).

[3] Niebuhr, The Purpose of the Church and Its Ministry, pp. 61-62.

2) The ministry as office--. For the pattern which represents the minister's status as an office the source of authority is the church community; the base on which this status rests is thus an integrative one. By their common authority, the community of believers call ministers to represent to them the Word of God:

> The point to be kept clearly in mind when one deals with the Reformers' conception of the ministry is that they regarded the function of the leader of the congregation, whose task was to be primarily preaching, as an assignment or office (Amt) which, to be sure, set him apart from his fellow Christians but only by their appointment, in order that he might perform a duty that each one of them was entitled to fulfil. Moreover, they regarded this office as a service to be rendered in the name of God and not in the name of men. Once appointed to the office, a minister could not be removed from it by the congregation that had called him, except if he disregarded or defied the Word of God.[2]

The Reformers had put the Scriptures in the pattern-maintenance spot formerly occupied by the Church as holy institution. This had the effect of moving the minister up to the _adaptive_ direction as interpreter of the Scriptures. He had to be trained in Biblical understanding, and his new religious and social status was marked by his garment, the gown of the scholar.[1] But the idea of the ministerial office also included relational and symbolic aspects (integrative norms);[2] it was _functional_, but only within normative assumptions about the Church as the faithful community. The ministerial office could be pushed to extremes at either end of the adaptive-integrative tension, as ministers emphasized the rational interpretation of the Word on one hand and the pastoral care for the community on the other.[3] It could also, coupled with a doctrine of election on the pattern-maintenance side, be pushed to the goal-attainment extreme of an emphasis upon the church as an earthly organization judged mainly by its effectiveness.[4]

---

[1] He is "a priest forever" in a Church founded by God, not a leader of an association of men.

[2] Wilhelm Pauck, "The Ministry in the Time of the Continental Reformation," in Niebuhr and Williams, pp. 112-113.

---

[1] _Ibid_., p. 147.

[2] As a modern exponent of the ministry as office points out: "The minister has to be considered the most typical of men. . . . [he] is representative of man as he stands _vor Gott_. And since God is the ultimate Reality, from whom and for whom man has his life and his very self-hood, the minister, in virtue of his office, stands at the place where man is most fully himself. . . . And the purpose of the minister in the human economy is that he is set apart to be more or less 'full-time' what other men are able to be only occasionally, a representative man" (Daniel Jenkins, _The Protestant Ministry_ [Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1958], pp. 120, 121).

[3] This adaptive-integrative split might be one way of interpreting the extremes of Protestant Scholasticism and Pietism which developed within Reformation churches.

[4] See Max Weber, _The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism_ (Vol. I, _Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziolgie_), trans. Talcott Parsons (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1930).

3) Churches with no clergy--another integrative pattern--. The churches growing out of the radical wing of the Reformation ought also to be seen as pulled to the integrative side of the action field, for their common authority-grounding is in personal experience of God--whether this be an "Inner Light" or a conversion-experience. In some of these churches which do not set aside an ordained clergy, the whole membership could be thought of as clergy:

> It has sometimes wrongly been said that the Anabaptists, Baptists, Quakers, Mennonites, Brethren and like groups have no true doctrine of ordination and frequently no clergy at all. A more perceptive over-simplification would be to say not that they have no clergy but that they have no laity.[1]

These laity/clergy do occupy "set apart" status, however; in many ways, these groups are among those most likely to be "in the world but not of it."

4) The ministry as evangelical calling--. It has been true since the beginning of the Christian ministry that ministers have felt themselves called by God to their work. Calling, setting-apart, and training by the Church were not enough --to these had to be joined the sense of inner conviction that it was God's will for this individual that he fill the office or do the work of a minister.

There has been prevalent in American Protestantism for the past two hundred years, however, a pattern of institutionalized expectations that the normative way for a man to achieve ministerial status is to receive a vivid, inner, personal call to preach.[1] The call is not to "the ministry" as a churchly office, but specifically to the preaching of the gospel for the conversion of souls; ordination and office in a church are secondary, for the transaction is carried out between God and the individual.

---

[1] Franklin H. Littell, "The Radical Reformation," in Stephen Charles Neill and Hans-Ruedi Weber, eds., The Layman in Christian History: A Project of the Department on the Laity of the World Council of Churches (cop. World Council of Churches; Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1963), p. 263 (emphasis his).

This emphasis upon the direct inner call from God to the individual might be seen as a case of prophetic, charismatic authority, were it not so firmly institutionalized as a normative expectation. As it is, it seems to be a merging of pattern-maintenance and integration on a radically individualized level. When such a ministerial pattern is linked with a church community, this community is likely at first to be a sect--a body of the saved. As the sect changes into a denomination the expectation of the inner call will remain as an ideal but will be tempered by more worldly considerations; churches will work out methods for producing such calls and will then demand that ministers present qualifications in addition to the inner conviction in order to be given ministerial positions.

5) The ministry as organizational leadership--. Authority-statuses of ministers, however firmly legitimated by theological doctrines, seem in historical perspective to have

---

[1] Sidney Mead, "The Rise of the Evangelical Conception of the Ministry in America (1607-1850)," in Niebuhr and Williams, pp. 207-249. See also Niebuhr, The Purpose of the Church . . . , pp. 61, 65, 72.

been quite similar to prevailing societal authority-models. The arguments for the divinely-instituted status of the priest sound like those for the authority of the Roman emperor, traced back to the traditional divine founding of the Eternal City; the office of the Reformation minister in a community of the faithful resembles the office of the king in a time of newly-conscious nations; and the individual call of the evangelical minister coincides neatly with the individualism of the advancing American frontier.

The forms of ministerial status in the organization-society of twentieth-century America are no exception to this tendency. Fairchild and Wynn, in their interviews with Presbyterian (U.S.A.) laymen, found that the laymen saw their ministers as the leaders or managers of a religious organization:

> The layman's tendency to see the minister generally as executive head of a religious organization is understandable. For one thing he has been led to believe by the omnipresent American organizational pattern (and often by the clergy themselves) that institutional expansion is an expression of authentic Christian witness. . . . And once a conventional pattern of institutional activity becomes normative, people come to expect it, and to demand professional leadership to guide it. No one can keep up with the complex modern church on a part-time basis. This being the predominant reasoning of the laity, the ministry receives its identity, not so much from a theological understanding of the church and its mission, as from the practical necessities of an ongoing organization, the functions of which are devoted to enhancing the religious life.[1]

There have been numerous protests against the "organization church" with its goal-attainer ministers. Some suggest that it be bypassed altogether, others that it be reformed from within, and others that it be recognized as only one form of the Church among new forms which have been developing as shapes for mission.[1] H. Richard Niebuhr proposes that the image of the minister as the "big operator" is a perversion of a new conception of the minister as the "pastoral director" whose first function "is that of building or 'edifying' the church; he is concerned in everything that he does to bring into being a people of God who as a Church will serve the purpose of the Church in the local community and the world."[2]

---

[1] Roy W. Fairchild and John Charles Wynn, Families in the Church: A Protestant Survey (New York: Association Press, 1961), p. 204.

In this conception, the status of the minister is defined functionally and the calling of the whole Church is given the primary theological grounding; this is at the other end of the G-L axis from the conception of the Church as constituted by the divine authority of its priesthood, but it could develop into as devastating a clericalism of action as the traditional priestly conception has sometimes been a clericalism of sacraments.

6) Specialized ministries--. The patterns of ministerial status which I have been examining thus far have mostly presupposed a normative situation of one minister-one congregation, with the status of this one minister determined by various emphases of an action field wherein he has responsi-

---

[1] See, among many, Gibson Winter, The Suburban Captivity of the Churches (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1962); Peter Berger, The Noise of Solemn Assemblies (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1961); and Colin Williams, Where in the World? (New York: National Council of Churches, 1963).

[2] The Purpose of the Church and Its Ministry, pp. 81, 82.

bilities for meeting needs of pattern-maintenance, integration, adaptation, and goal-attainment all together. But, while this situation is still the predominant one in which the minister works, it is by no means the only form of ministry today.

There has been in this century a proliferation of many varieties of specialized ministries, for which the primary determinants of status are the qualifications of training possessed by the individuals involved.[1] These specialized ministries may be in a multiple-staff local church, with staff members trained in Christian education, counseling, business management, or music. They may be carried out in contexts other than the local congregation--as in institutional chaplaincies, denominational boards, missions, institutes, and the like.

The statuses of these various specialists are determined by adaptive criteria more than by any other norms. That is, their statuses are specific rather than diffuse; they depend upon performance rather than on qualities ascribed to the person as a minister; they are universal, that is, the training involved is based on fields of knowledge outside the doctrinal-theological knowledge of the church; and they are neutral rather than affective, that is, the friendly relationship between worker and those with whom he works is not immediate--as it would be for a pastor calling on a church member who knows him well--but is conditioned by the specialized task which the worker is trained to perform. If the work of the minister becomes over-determined by such criteria of specialization, this is as much an unbalancing of the tensions of the minister's action field as is the overemphasis on pastoral presence at the other end of the adaptive-integrative continuum.[1]

---

[1] See Gustafson, "The Clergy in the United States," in Daedalus, XCII, 4 (Fall, 1963), pp. 726-727.

D. The Necessary Tensions of Ministerial Status

When norms become absolutes, response-ability is lost. I have tried to point out that the minister's position in the Church, his "status" or action-base, is not a fixed place but the fluid region between the claims exerted upon him by faith-interpretations, requirements for action-decisions, relationships with persons, and conditions in the changing social and cultural situation. The several conceptions of the nature of ministerial status as order, office, inner calling, organizational position, and trained specialization which I have examined represent choices made between these claims upon the minister; the claims of one of the action field directions are made the primary ones, and other claims are ordered by them. Such normative orderings of ministerial status are appropriate to particular times and conditions within the Church and in its social contexts; they become dysfunctional as the situation changes, and there occur reactions toward other directions of the action field. These in their turn may set up patterns of norms which turn into absolutes and become dysfunctional. It is often the case, also, that minister and people operate with different normative images of the minister's status. The minister may picture himself as set apart by God for the administration of the sacraments, and his congregation may have an image of him as set apart by themselves for the leadership of the organization; or the minister may see himself as the trained expert doing a specialized job, and his people may want him to be their pastor with deeply sensitive concern and no limits set on his availability. (These images can be reversed, of course, and there are other conflicting pairs of images which might be present.)

---

[1] Hans Hofmann makes too strong a case for specialization when he says: "The clergy are not primarily the religious caretakers, priests or teachers. . . . Their task is to be critical and to sharpen the doubts of their parishioners on everything they have automatically accepted on the word of the church. . . . The minister is the researcher who reports his findings, failure and achievements to the centers of theological education. There, in turn, it will be the main task of theologians, starting with this alarming evidence, to reconsider, in its light, the total spectrum of the Christian tradition, including the Bible, the doctrines, church history, and presentday church life" ("Outlook," in Hans Hofmann, ed., Making the Ministry Relevant [New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1960], pp. 11, 14).

I am by no means suggesting that the ministry should not be normatively ordered; on the contrary, it should be governed by more norms--norms drawn from all four directions of the action field rather than from only one or two of them. The claims of theology, institution, situation, and people are all valid, and it is only in the tension between them that the minister can respond appropriately to the needs which he sees. A scriptural understanding of ministry guards against the demands for adjustment of action to the desires of an institution, while the requirement of action prevents sterile repetition of theologically-legitimated practices which have lost their relevance. Exposure to the requirements of rigorous training in the general disciplines of the university guards against reliance on feeling and friendships alone, and provides resources for meeting persons' specific needs--and the normative pastoral image together with the demand for self-involvement prevents narrow technical concentration and instrumentalism. In the minister's action field any one of the directions can be a pull toward wider perspective and a check upon the excessive demands from other directions, or it can be a pull toward narrowness and absolutism.

But what of the minister's status as "set apart" from that of other church members? It must be noted that the Church has tended to set her ministers apart by theological criteria, making them symbolically superior to other Christians. Robert Clyde Johnson points out that this has resulted in two dominant images:

> . . . the minister as the example to the people (the exemplary image). This is an image that has taken two forms, . . . the spiritual and the moral forms.
>
> The other image is that of the minister as representative of God and the people (the representative image). This also has taken two forms, one typical of Roman Catholicism and the other of sentimentalized Protestantism.[1]

Against these images, Johnson argues for a functional view of the minister as equal in status to other Christians but given responsibility for particular tasks:

---

[1] Robert Clyde Johnson, ed., The Church and Its Changing Ministry (Philadelphia: Office of the General Assembly, The United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, 1961), p. 31.

> There can be divisions of function within the body but no distinctions of "status" as we use the word today. To assert the contrary would be to divide the Church and allow part of the body to usurp the ministry that Christ has committed to the entire body, to the many-as-one.[1]

This normative image of the minister as the "servant of servants" is grounded in a theological interpretation of the whole Church, the laos (people) as a ministry.[2] Thus "the ministry" is the work of the Church, not first of all the title of an occupation:

> We speak about Christ when we speak of the ministry, about what *he* does through his Church in and for the world. . . . He gives grace to all the baptized, assigning to them their particular authority and function in his ministry. He lets the whole Church share in his suffering, calling each member to be spent in his ministry in love and obedience to God and in love and service to men.
>
> Only in the context of this total ministry of Christ through his Church in and for the world can the questions about the authority and function of ministers within the Church be answered.[3]

This theological norm has the effect of defining the Church itself in functional terms, making it an instrument for the work of Christ. Again a balance-of-tensions appears, within which the Church must decide on the *forms* of its ministry in and to the world. In this context, there may appear as a pattern-maintenance pull an emphasis upon the *institutional organization* as the stable base from which the Church operates

---

[1] *Ibid*., p. 30.

[2] See Hendrick Kraemer, *A Theology of the Laity* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1958), and Howard Grimes, *The Rebirth of the Laity* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1962), two of several books on this subject.

[3] The Department of the Laity of the World Council of Churches, *Laity*, No. 15 (May, 1963), p. 14.

--and the ministry as a functional occupation within this institution can easily take on the characteristics of bureaucrats everywhere. The "enlightened" ministers are at present bewailing the institutional captivity of the churches, but the blame for this organizationalism cannot be completely laid on the shoulders of the laity; it would be a strange phenomenon indeed if those who depend upon an organization for their living were not frequently among those most concerned that it be large and eminently popular!

Hence I would make the final point that if an image of the ministry as an occupation is a much-needed corrective to an image of the ministry as a heaven-sent order, yet the ministry is not only an occupation. To see it as such would be to neglect the important senses in which it is symbolic as well as functional, relational as well as theoretical.[1]

---

[1] This point is further developed in Chapter VIII.

CHAPTER VI

SITUATIONS FACED: THE MINISTER'S ROLES

> John, who was in prison, heard what Christ was doing and sent his own disciples to him with this message: "Are you the one who is to come, or are we to expect some other?" Jesus answered, "Go and tell John what you hear and see: the blind recover their sight, the lame walk, the lepers are clean, the deaf hear, the dead are raised to life, the poor are hearing the good news--and happy is the man who does not find me a stumbling block."[1]

> From the moment that we transfer the responsibility for ministry to a selected or elected group, we have gone down a dead-end street.[2]

For what is the minister responsible? In this chapter we shall be examining patterns of ministerial roles, the kinds of actions which ministers are expected to take in the contexts of the Christian faith, the organized church, and the human social situation. Within the framework of the action field, the aspect of the "big picture" with which we are dealing is goal-attainment, the putting-into-action of life views in the midst of structured relationships.

As I have already indicated, the criteria of status and role are inseparable; they are, respectively, the structural and the dynamic ways of looking at the same phenomenon. The ways in which ministers are "set apart" in special positions within the Church will influence the kinds of actions they take; and the several roles they play will spell out and give specific meanings to the normative images their people have of them and they have of themselves. This is not to say that statuses and roles correspond point-for-point. A status (such as "priest") has several roles or expected patterns of action connected with it; and it is likely that role-performances will vary widely among ministers whose status is nominally the same.

---

[1] Matt. 11:2-6 (New English Bible).

[2] Johnson, The Church and Its Changing History, p. 26.

The discussion to follow will take this course: (A) I shall present the several normative roles which have been built into the minister's pattern of action, relating these roles to each other in the balance-of-tensions of the action field; (B) using data from Part VI ("Professional Activities") of the Danforth Ministry Survey, I shall first draw the picture of how this group of parish ministers see their work, and then deal with variations on the main theme in the work of campus ministers and of several ministerial "types" appearing at the extremes of the action field; and (C) I shall make some evaluations of the patterns that appear.[1]

---

[1] Once again I must make clear the limits of the task I am undertaking. In this chapter's discussion of the situations ministers face, I am not:

i) Correlating the statements of Section VI ("Professional Activities") of the Danforth Survey instrument with statements from other sections. This means that I am mainly working with ministers' images of the "ideal minister" as they see him. Further analysis of the Danforth data should include the use of many statements as checks upon those of Part VI.

ii) Making extensive judgments about situations ministers actually are facing, or what their roles should be in the light of theological and situational criteria. I am working mainly with the picture of "what is" in the normative pattern of ministerial roles as ministers see it.

A. Patterns of Ministerial Roles in the Action Field

1) Recapitulation--the balance-of-tensions of legitimation and status--. In Chapter IV I suggested that in the basic balance-of-tensions within the Christian faith by which a minister's action is legitimated are the tensions between *faith and action* and between *self and others* (God and man). These fourfold pulls working together produce normative images of the *church* as holy institution, gathered community, organization, or "task force":

Action
(man) A G
Others Self
(God) L I
Faith

Church as:
Task Force Organization
A G
L I
Holy Institution Community

Then in Chapter V, I proposed that a fruitful way of seeing the balance-of-tensions involved in the defining of ministers' statuses is to make the distinctions between statuses as *functional* or *symbolic* and as based mainly on *theory* or *relationships*:

Functional
A G
Theory Relations
L I
Symbolic

Now, putting these balances-of-tensions together and including one further distinction--that between the "inside" structure of the church and the social-cultural context in which it is placed--what kinds of actions might we expect to find ministers engaged in, assuming that they are responsible for meeting the pulls from all four of the action field directions? They are likely to have these roles:

(a) Pattern-Maintenance roles, mainly symbolic and cultural. Such actions as preaching, interpreting the faith, leading worship, administering the sacraments, and making moral judgments would belong here.

(b) Integrative roles, mainly interpersonal and oriented to individual needs. Such actions as prayer, spiritual counseling, pastoral calling, hospital visitation, conducting funerals, and giving help for all kinds of needs, physical and social, would belong here.

(c) Goal-Attainment roles, mainly active and demanding leadership abilities. Such actions as meeting a church budget, furthering educational aims, building new facilities, and working with boards and committees would belong here.

(d) Adaptive roles, of two sorts--those designed to bring in resources for the church and those designed to help the church adjust to changing situations. Such actions as using special training to meet needs of persons and organizations, and such as educating church members to the changes in cultural understandings and social forces would belong here.

For ministers' actions outside the church organization --in the community, denomination, or society at large--the action field directions would also apply. An adaptive action of the minister in the community would be his participation in city planning; a pattern-maintenance community action would be his offering the prayer at a civic celebration.

Many actions of ministers cannot be neatly categorized as falling under one of the pulls of the action field, but they do make sense if they are seen as combinations of _two_ of the pulls. Baptism, for example, would seem to be an action serving both pattern-maintenance and integrative purposes--it is a _symbolic_ action grounded in faith-understandings, but it is also a _community-integrating_ action.

2) Normative ministerial roles--. Those who have studied ministers' roles are in substantial agreement that the normative pattern of the minister's action contains just such expectations as I have outlined:

> For what is the clergyman responsible? The traditional answers are rather clear. He is responsible for the religious life of the members of his congregation or parish, for the preservation and propagation of his religious tradition, for the administration of the means of grace, for the application of moral and religious law, for the maintenance and growth of religious organizations, for the moral well-being of the society and for the spiritual needs of individual persons. These responsibilities are exercised in traditional roles of the clergyman. He is the preacher, the scholar and teacher, the priest at the altar, the moral and spiritual counselor.[1]

In his 1934 study of the education of American ministers, May found that for the layman

> The pastor is commonly regarded as a _holy man_ whose presence is a stabilizing influence in the community. He is expected to preach, to make pastoral calls, to conduct services of worship including special and seasonal services, to officiate at weddings, funerals, and baptisms, to persuade men and women to join the church and support it

---

[1] Gustafson, "The Clergy in the United States," _Daedalus_, XCII, 4 (Fall, 1963), p. 725.

financially, and to lead a good and exemplary life.[1] The multitude of ministers' activities fall into several roles within the one ministerial status. In a study published in 1956, Samuel W. Blizzard identified six such practitioner roles: administrator, organizer, pastor, preacher, priest, and teacher.[2] Of these, the roles of preacher, priest, and teacher are what Blizzard calls traditional roles; the role of pastor is neotraditional; and the roles of administrator and organizer are contemporary or newly-emerged roles.[3]

3) Relatedness of ministerial roles in the action field--. As was the case for our discussion of the "marks of a profession," it is not enough to be able to list components of a pattern. We need also to see how these components are interrelated in certain definite ways, with characteristic balances-of-tensions between them. Such a relationship holds, I believe, between the normative roles in the minister's action field:

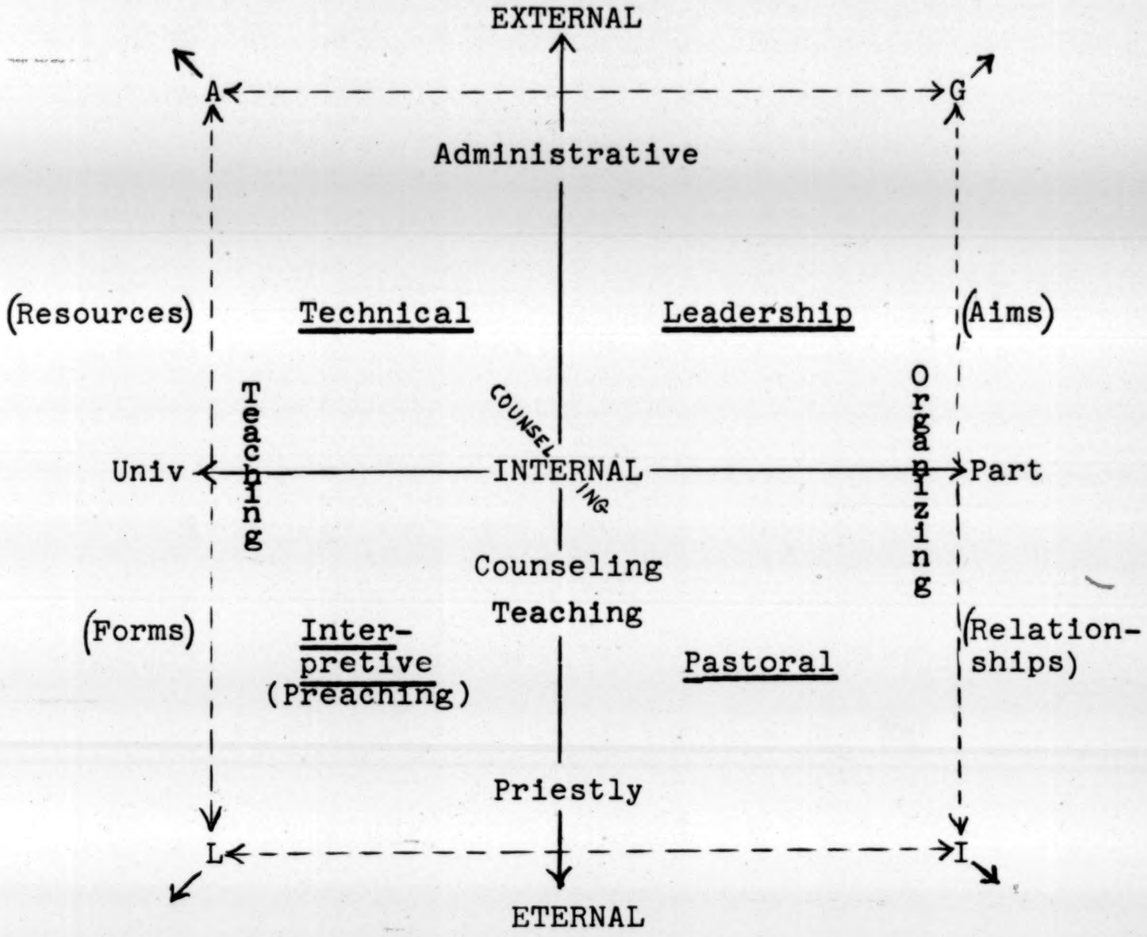
---

[1] Mark A. May, in collaboration with William Adams Brown, Frank K. Shuttleworth, Jesse A. Jacobs, and Charlotte V. Feeney, The Profession of the Ministry: Its Status and Problems (Volume II, The Education of American Ministers, 3 vols.; New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1934), p. 141.

[2] Samuel W. Blizzard, "The Minister's Dilemma," in Johnson, The Church and Its Changing Ministry, pp. 74-75 (reprinted from The Christian Century, April 25, 1956).

[3] Ibid., p. 75.

Figure 7: Relationships of Ministerial Roles in the Action Field Pattern



There are several points to be noted about the interrelationships of these ministerial roles. In the first place, the several roles are not separated by rigid boundaries but shade into each other. Five of the roles in particular (teaching, counseling, priestly actions, organizing, and administration) are "linking" roles between two of the action field directions. The counseling role can vary between the bringing to bear of technical resources upon specific problems (adaptive) to a close personal relationship between pastor and individual or family (integrative); it can also be the bringing to bear of the doctrines of the Church upon individual cases (pattern-maintenance resources). Teaching may be the linking of faith-understandings with other cultural knowledge (pattern-maintenance and adaptation), or it may be the inculcation of these faith-understandings into the understandings of members of the community (pattern-maintenance and integration). Administration demands a command both of resources and leadership abilities; organizing is a matter of linking goals and people.

In the second place, the "eternal-internal-external" continuum I have placed in this figure is meant to represent the Church's normative image of itself as placed between God and the world. The activities of the minister within the Church are "internal," but these activities have meaning only with reference to the "eternal-external" tension by which his position in the Church is defined.[1] Images of the minister as "holy man" reflect a prevalent assumption that he is supposed to be more out of the world than in it.

In the third place, the tensions of the action field (as indicated by the pattern variable terms around Figure 7) are such that we may expect to find certain combinations of ministerial roles more often than others, or to find specializations and divisions of labor within the ministry. Each

---

[1] I repeat that I am analyzing the minister's position as it has been normatively defined by the Church. The "eternal-external" dichotomy is not one with which I myself want to operate. I shall return to this point in Chapter VIII.

role-emphasis shares two characteristics with the emphases to either side of it (technical and interpretive roles share qualities of universalism and neutrality, for example) and, where preferences and conditions permit, the same minister may find it natural to combine two such contiguous roles. But each role-emphasis also differs from the emphases on either side of it in two characteristics (technical and interpretive roles differ in that the one requires specificity and performance, the other diffuseness and quality), and from the one diagonally opposite in four characteristics. Where normative role-definitions or conditions demand attention to such differing characteristics there is likely to be potential or actual role-strain; in such cases, various sorts of mechanisms are brought into play to prevent or alleviate this strain. Examples of such mechanisms are segmentation of roles into different actions for different conditions, role-definitions giving clear priority to one emphasis over the other, or allowances for deviations from expectations. I am not suggesting that role-strain is always bad. In fact, the awareness of the opposing pulls of the action field and the freedom to stand at the point of their meeting is the "balancing of tensions" which I want to argue is the source and possibility of creative and appropriate action in the midst of changing circumstances.

But a role is by definition a normatively-defined, expected pattern of action, not a dynamic standpoint such as that in the center of the action field. In the Church, as in all institutions, choices have been made between the pulls of the action field--and ministers have formed preferences for certain role-emphases (or doctrine and polity have set preferences for them). We turn now to an examination of some patterns of such preferences.

B. Patterns of Role-Preferences: Evidence from Survey Data

What activities do ministers consider to be their most important ones? The ministers studied by May and his staff ranked pastoral and ministerial (worship, funerals, sacraments, etc.) duties first, homiletical duties third, administrative fourth, educational fifth, and mechanical routine duties last in order of importance in their roles.[1] The ranking they gave these duties according to the degree of satisfaction they derived from them was almost identical, with ministerial, pastoral, and homiletical activities seen (in that order) as most satisfying.[2]

Blizzard asked the ministers in his sample to rank the six practitioner roles in four ways. The ministers' normative view of the importance of the roles was: preacher, pastor, priest, teacher, organizer, and administrator, in that order. In terms of how effectively they were performed, the order was: preacher, pastor, teacher, priest, administrator, and organizer. Ministers enjoyed them in this order: pastor, preacher, teacher and priest, organizer and administrator.

---

[1] May, p. 160.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 172.

But when the ministers ranked the roles according to the time they spent in them, the order was: administrator, pastor, preacher and priest, organizer, and teacher.[1]

In Section VI of the Danforth Ministry Survey ministers were asked to indicate their enjoyment of fifty-two ministerial functions.[2] I have arranged these functions in the table below in the order in which the total group of parish ministers in the Danforth sample say they enjoy them.[3] Beside each statement, the number in the parentheses is a weighted "enjoyment score"; a perfect score for a statement would be 300. The letters (L, I, G, A) in the parentheses show the direction(s) of the minister's role action field in which I would place these activities.[4]

---

[1] Blizzard, "The Minister's Dilemma," in Johnson, The Church and Its Changing Ministry, pp. 75-77.

[2] The list of functions was derived in part from Blizzard's work.

[3] Scores were obtained by multiplying answers of 4 by 1, 5 by 2, and 6 by 3, and adding the results together. The scores given here are averages for all of the parish ministers in the six participating denominations. Parish ministers with churches near campuses ("campus-parish" men) are not included; their scores tend to be intermediate between those of parish and campus ministers, though there are some interesting differences which I cannot follow up within the scope of this dissertation.

In a subsequent section of this chapter I shall deal with campus ministers' enjoyment of some of these activities. At the end of the chapter I have combined the role-preferences of parish and campus ministers in graphic form in Figure 9; the reader may care to examine this figure in connection with the table.

[4] Since I am using the action field theory for the interpretation of statements which were not originally formulated on the basis of the theory, I do not insist that the survey statements give an unambiguous indication of the various action field pulls. The reader is welcome to differ with my interpretations.

PARISH MINISTERS' ENJOYMENT OF THEIR ROLES

No.	Activity	"Enjoyment Score"	Action Field Directions
13.	Preaching sermons	(253)	(L)
2.	Leading public worship	(244)	(L)
21.	Administering Communion	(231)	(L-I)
30.	Winning a lost soul to Christ	(229)	(L-I)
41.	Helping a person or family resolve a serious problem, whether it be spiritual, social, psychological, or economic	(223)	(A-I)
22.	Teaching and working directly with adults	(214)	(A-L-I)
43.	Reading the Holy Bible	(214)	(L-I)
6.	Teaching young people (i.e., junior high and high school)	(202)	(L-I)
45.	Conducting a baptismal service	(202)	(L-I)
7.	Talking with individuals about their spiritual development	(201)	(L-I)
37.	Privately encountering God through prayer	(199)	(I)
4.	Counseling with people facing the major decisions of life, e.g., marriage, vocation	(196)	(A-I)
36.	Helping a young person make a decision to enter the ministry	(195)	(L-I)
23.	Counseling with people about their moral and personal problems	(195)	(L-I)
44.	Discussing contemporary theological issues and viewpoints with educated persons	(183)	(A-L)
3.	Ministering to the sick, dying, and bereaved	(177)	(I)
49.	Teaching people to use their Bibles in personal meditations	(173)	(L-I)
1.	Teaching children	(172)	(L-I)
34.	Preparing sermons	(169)	(L)
33.	Helping people come to grips with the problems involved in the relationship between the Christian heritage and the modern scientific world	(168)	(A-L)
42.	Taking a firm stand on some issue confronting the life of the Church	(168)	(L-G)
32.	Ministering to the aged	(166)	(I)
8.	Visiting new residents and recruiting new members	(163)	(I-G)
28.	Visiting regularly in the homes of the congregation	(156)	(I)

(continued)

No.	Activity	"Enjoyment Score"		Action Field Directions
9.	Supplying ideas for new activities and projects	(148)		(A)
38.	Seeing a major building project to completion	(147)		(G)
15.	Developing more effective adult teaching and study programs	(145)		(A-G)
16.	Teaching undergraduates and graduate students	(145)		(A-L)
14.	Following a definite schedule of reading and study	(144)		(A-L)
19.	Maintaining a disciplined life of prayer and personal devotion	(143)		(I-L)
5.	Fostering fellowship at church gatherings	(125)		(I-G)
31.	Participating in evangelistic meetings	(125)		(L-I-G)
11.	Recruiting, training, and assisting lay leaders and teachers	(124)		(G)
51.	Creating an agenda for my supervisory or advisory boards which opens up new ideas and programs for the church	(115)		(A-G)
46.	Participating in a local ecumenical ministerial association	(112)	external	(I)
50.	Spotting the key places in the community where decisions influencing our common life are being made and informing church members of this	(112)	external	(A)
24.	Participating in community projects and organizations	(111)	external	(I-G)
17.	Playing the conciliator role, seeking to find points of harmony and agreement	(108)		(I-G)
10.	Working with congregational boards and committees	(102)		(G)
47.	Influencing the policies of organizations in my denomination	(101)	external	(G)
40.	Participating in state, regional, and national denominational activities	(100)	external	(I-G)
26.	Organizing and helping groups who are victims of social neglect or injustice	(100)	external	(A-I-G)
18.	Promoting and creating enthusiasm for church activities	(99)		(I-G)
27.	Speaking to community and civic groups	(99)	external	(?)

(continued)

No.	Activity	"Enjoyment Score"	Action Field Directions
52.	Participating in creating plans for improvement of city life	(92)	external (A-G)
48.	Influencing the policies of major organizations or institutions in my community	(91)	external (G)
25.	Maintaining harmony, handling troublemakers, averting or resolving problems	(73)	(G-I)
39.	Giving theological interpretations of avant garde movies and other art forms	(67)	external (A-L)
20.	Helping manage church finances	(67)	(L-A-G)*
12.	Managing the church office--records, correspondence, information center, etc.	(62)	(L-A-G)*
35.	Organizing or administering local community projects	(52)	external (G)
29.	Raising money for special church projects	(44)	(A-G)

*L here refers to organizational, not cultural, pattern-maintenance.

This composite picture of a group of parish ministers' enjoyment of their roles[1] shows that these men overwhelmingly prefer working with ideas and individuals to working with actions and groups. No "goal-attainment" function requiring active leadership appears before the twenty-first statement on the list (No. 42). The symbolic/theoretical (worship, sacraments) and symbolic/relational (spiritual counseling) functions are more enjoyable than functional/theoretical (supplying ideas for projects) and functional/relational (working with boards and committees) activities. These ministers see their roles as predominantly oriented to the internal activities of their congregations; no "external" activity of any sort appears until the thirty-fifth position in the list of fifty-two (No. 46).

---

[1] By "composite picture" I mean that this table gives a very general indication of the role-preferences of parish ministers in six denominations, ignoring denominational differences and theological variations. The "enjoyment scores" are the averages of the percentages of ministers in the six denominations expressing enjoyment for these functions. Since within each denomination I weighted the scores by multiplying the percentage of ministers circling 4 by 1, 5 by 2, and 6 by 3 and added these results together, an "enjoyment score" of 300 in this table would mean that 100% of parish ministers in all six denominations circled 6 on the statement.

The integrative theme of ministry to persons is very strong among these role-preferences, but it is interesting to note that the ministers enjoy counseling more than direct pastoral service where their only resource is themselves, or where they must deal with feelings more than with problems (i.e., No. 3, "Ministering to the sick, dying, and bereaved," follows five idea-and-problem oriented integrative functions, Nos. 41, 7, 4, 36, and 23). They are much less interested in the functions of integrating groups of people in the church community (Nos. 8, 28, 5, 17, 18, 25).

Looking at the complete picture, it appears that the functions which these ministers enjoy the most are those in which they stand apart at the center of activity, supported by a theological doctrine of their position (preaching, leading worship, administering sacraments) or by their special knowledge (counseling, discussing theology, teaching). Toward the last of their preferences are those activities in which they must take the roles of member or leader of a group and work toward specific goals (e.g., Nos. 38, 15, 11, 51, 46, 50, 24, 17, 10, 47, 40, 26, 18, 52, 48, 25). And at the very bottom of the list are the activities concerned with finances and routine (Nos. 20, 12, 29).

These role-preferences thus seem to follow roughly the same order as those of the ministers whom May and Blizzard studied. Pastoral, priestly, preaching, and teaching roles--the traditional ministerial actions--are much more enjoyable to these men than the newer roles of organizer and administrator.[1] In terms of the action field theory, then, I would make the judgment that, as far as their enjoyment of their roles is concerned, these parish ministers see themselves primarily as pattern-maintainers, then integrators and adapters, in that order. That is, first, they reject functions marked by demands for specificity, performance, affectivity and particularity (G functions); yet in their ministry to persons they prefer to maintain a distance by relying on qualities of universality and neutrality, specificity and performance (adaptive qualities), while expressing a diffuse concern. Their relationship to the church community is diffuse and on the basis of qualities (i.e., ministerial status, membership status), but they rely on the universal and neutral characteristics of their symbolic "communicator" roles more than on the affective and particularistic factors of their being members of the same community as laymen (preferences weighted toward the pattern-maintenance end of the L-I continuum). They want to work with ideas and individuals, and they are happiest in those functions where both come together. They see themselves as leaders of the worshipping community rather than as leaders of the acting organization. In other words, they want to be two things to the community: the value-interpreters and the resource-persons.

---

[1] Which is not to say that the amounts of time and energy they must expend in their various activities follows this same order. Also, it should be noted that the priestly functions occupy a higher place in this list than they did among the preferences of Blizzard's sample of ministers. This may well be because the Danforth sample includes Episcopalians, American Lutherans, and Missouri Synod Lutherans--all strongly liturgical denominations.

In the last section of this chapter I shall return to these findings to make some evaluations of what they might mean for ministers' actions. But let us look next at two variations on the theme of ministerial roles: that of campus ministers, and that of ministers who locate themselves at various different points of the general ministerial action field.

Variations on a theme, (1): the case of the campus ministry--. The campus ministry is a variety of ministry "set apart" from the usual ministerial pattern by being carried out in a special context, the university, rather than in the context of the local church and the general community. What differences are there between role-preferences of campus ministers and their parish colleagues?

The activities which the total sample of campus ministers of the six denominations most enjoyed were:[1]

---

[1] See Figure 9 at the end of this chapter for a graphic comparison of campus and parish ministers' preferences for the various role-functions.

ACTIVITIES MOST ENJOYED BY CAMPUS MINISTERS

No.	Activity	"Enjoyment Score"
16.	Teaching undergraduates and graduate students	(252)
44.	Discussing contemporary theological issues and viewpoints with educated persons	(238)
33.	Helping people come to grips with the problems involved in the relationship between the Christian heritage and the modern scientific world	(225)
13.	Preaching sermons	(222)
4.	Counseling with people facing the major decisions of life, e.g., marriage, vocation	(218)
22.	Teaching and working directly with adults	(217)
23.	Counseling with people about their moral and personal problems	(214)
2.	Leading public worship	(211)
41.	Helping a person or family resolve a serious problem, whether it be spiritual, social, psychological, or economic	(204)

There is a group of role-functions (falling in the middle range of enjoyment for the whole sample) for which campus ministers express greater appreciation than do parish ministers:

FUNCTIONS ENJOYED MORE BY CAMPUS MINISTERS

No.	Activity	"Enjoyment Score" Campus	"Enjoyment Score" Parish
42.	Taking a firm stand on some issue confronting the life of the Church	(190)	(168)
14.	Following a definite schedule of reading and study	(179)	(144)
15.	Developing more effective adult teaching and study programs	(172)	(145)
39.	Giving theological interpretations of avant garde movies and other art forms	(152)	(67)
26.	Organizing and helping groups who are victims of social neglect or injustice	(145)	(100)

(continued)

No.	Activity	"Enjoyment Score" Campus	"Enjoyment Score" Parish
50.	Spotting the key places in the community where decisions influencing our common life are being made and informing church members of this	(140)	(112)
24.	Participating in community projects and organizations	(131)	(111)
17.	Playing the conciliator role, seeking to find points of harmony and agreement	(127)	(108)
48.	Influencing the policies of major organizations or institutions in my community	(127)	(91)
52.	Participating in creating plans for improvement of city life	(124)	(92)
27.	Speaking to community and civic groups	(122)	(99)
47.	Influencing the policies of organizations in my denomination	(116)	(101)

And, finally, there are the activities which campus ministers most dislike:

ACTIVITIES MOST DISLIKED BY CAMPUS MINISTERS

No.	Activity	"Enjoyment Score"
19.	Maintaining a disciplined life of prayer and personal devotion	(95)
32.	Ministering to the aged	(95)
40.	Participating in state, regional, and national denominational activities	(89)
28.	Visiting regularly in the homes of the congregation	(88)
25.	Maintaining harmony, handling troublemakers, averting or resolving problems	(77)
8.	Visiting new residents and recruiting new members	(77)
38.	Seeing a major building project to completion	(73)
5.	Fostering fellowship at church gatherings	(72)
10.	Working with congregational boards and committees	(68)
35.	Organizing and administering local community projects	(68)
18.	Promoting and creating enthusiasm for church activities	(47)

(continued)

No.	Activity	"Enjoyment Score"
31.	Participating in evangelistic meetings	(39)
12.	Managing the church office--records, correspondence, information center, etc.	(35)
20.	Helping manage church finances	(26)
29.	Raising money for special church projects	(15)

The most obvious point of difference between these campus ministers and their parish counterparts is that campus ministers are much more externally oriented: the group of functions they enjoy more than parish ministers do are almost all external activities (see pp. 181-182). They are also not very interested in the institutional church: all but four of the fifteen activities they most dislike are those connected with running the program of the church.

This is not to say, however, that they do not enjoy working with groups and organizations. On several statements (Nos. 42, 26, 24, 17, 48, and 47) they express greater enjoyment of goal-attainment activities or group-integrative activities than do parish ministers. (Whether they actually _do_ "influence policies of denominational organizations" or "take a firm stand on some issue confronting the life of the Church" is another matter; they and the parish ministers alike could be speaking more of what they'd _like to do_ than of what they are _doing_.)

In action field terms, the major difference between campus and parish ministers is that the campus ministers tend more toward the _adaptive_ direction. Evidence of this may be seen in the greater preferences of campus ministers for technical, problem-centered counseling rather than the more diffuse pastoral ministries. It also appears in relation to the pattern-maintenance direction; campus ministers are "functional/theoretical" rather than "symbolic/theoretical" men. They want to relate the Christian heritage to the contemporary world, teach students and adults, and discuss theology with educated persons.[1] (They are also the ones most ready to reject traditional theological interpretations and say that theology is a rational intellectual discipline which should be taught in the university; this appears in their answers to Parts I, II, and III of the Danforth Survey.)

These "adapters" are good examples of the twofold pull of the adaptive direction of the action field: (a) the bringing to bear of specialized trained skills upon problems, and (b) the pull toward changing the existing order of things. This thrust toward change would be more disruptive of the churches than it is, were it not that these ministers are in a specialized role and not in local congregations. Hammond and Mitchell point out that such "segmentation of radicals" into

---

[1] The averaging of parish and campus ministers' role-preferences softens some of the distinctions between the campus ministers at one extreme and the parish ministers at the other. If Missouri Synod Lutheran parish ministers and Presbyterian campus ministers are compared, they most enjoy:

MO. LUTH. PARISH MINISTERS	PRES. U.S.A. CAMPUS MINISTERS
30. Winning a lost soul to Christ	16. Teaching college students
13. Preaching sermons	44. Discussing contemporary theology
2. Leading worship	22. Teaching adults
21. Administering Communion	33. Relating Christian heritage to the modern scientific world

the campus ministry is functional for the Church in two ways: first, it removes them from the major pattern so they do not disturb it; but, second, it provides them with some measure of freedom to experiment--and the fruits of their experimentation are fed back into church life in various ways.[1]

The question must be raised, however, as to whether the differences in the role-preferences of campus and parish ministers are not more a matter of variations on a single theme than they are evidences of differing patterns of action. There are theological differences between the two groups, and they work in different situations, but they still share the normative image of the minister as the man who relates ideas and persons' needs. The parish minister preaches and administers the sacraments--and the campus minister teaches theology. The parish minister fosters church fellowship--and the campus minister runs coffee houses. The parish minister visits the sick and cares for the dying--and the campus minister counsels students about their problems. The primary value-interpretation (pattern-maintenance) base is common to both, with integrative service to persons the activity second most important to formal worship and/or study activities. What seems to be lacking from the role-image of these ministers in general is a sense of the realities of power and the demands for active leadership of the goal-attainment pull of the action field.[1]

---

[1] Phillip E. Hammond and Robert E. Mitchell, "Segmentation of Radicalism--The Case of the Protestant Campus Minister," The American Journal of Sociology, LXXI, 2 (September, 1965), pp. 133-143.

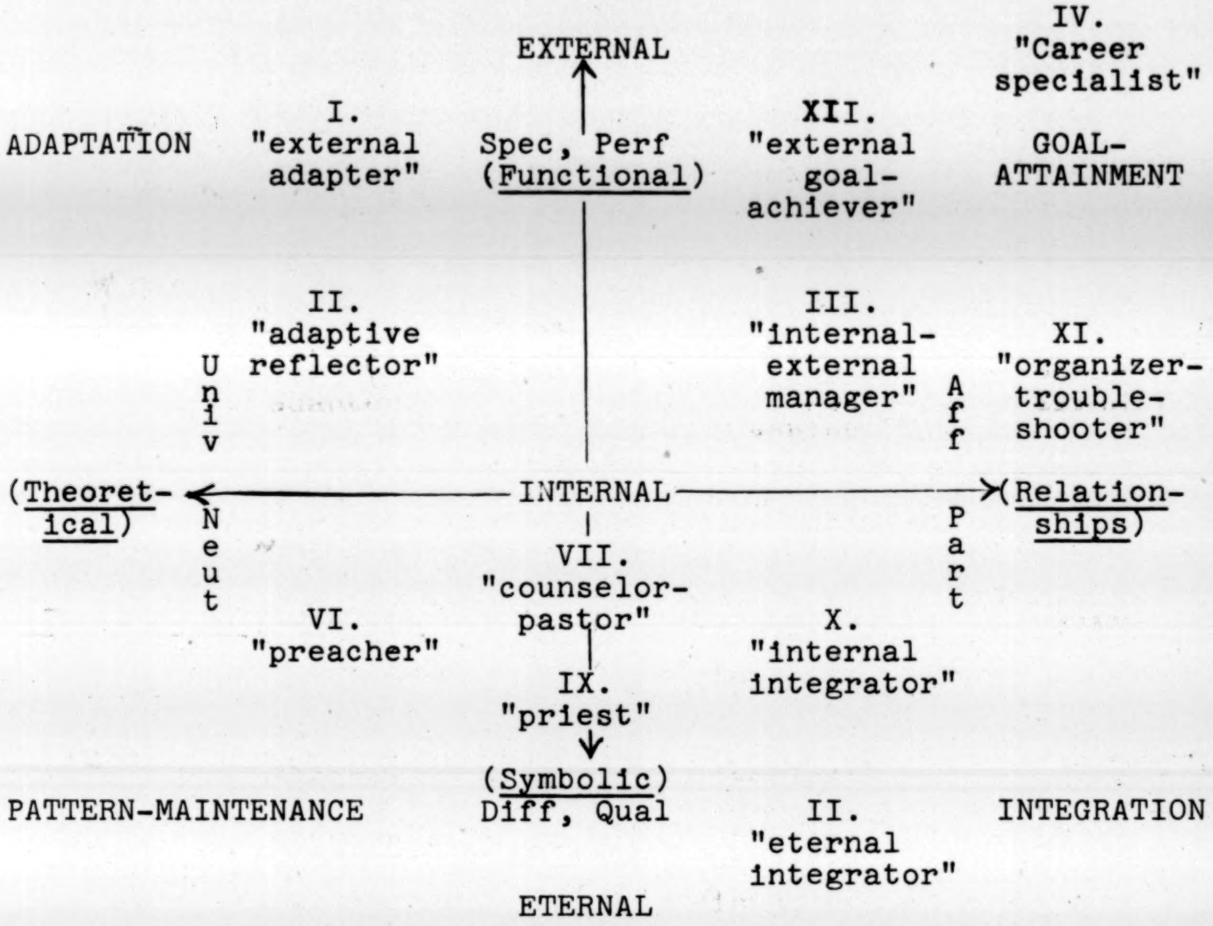
Variations on a theme, (2): several patterns of ministers' roles--. In the "big picture" of ministers' preferences for different activities which I have presented, there is no indication of which activities tend to be enjoyed most by the same minister--that is, which activities cluster together in identifiable but differing role-patterns within the encompassing framework of the "minister's role." But such clusters did show up clearly in a factor-analysis which was done of the answers to Section VI of the Danforth Survey.[2] Twelve distinguishable groupings of role-preferences were discovered. In the figure below, I have placed these twelve role-clusters at various points in the action field pattern, to show how they represent combinations of different emphases of the action field and how they stand in certain contrasts to each other.

---

[1] Again, we must not identify what ministers enjoy with what they are in fact doing. Many of these men may be very active and goal-oriented leaders even though they don't enjoy it very much. There may be in the answers to this survey, also, a strong tendency of ministers to say they enjoy what they believe a minister ought to enjoy.

[2] Including the second part of Section VI, with which I have not dealt thus far in this chapter. See Appendix for a copy of the survey instrument.

Figure 8: Styles of Ministerial Roles
in the Action Field



The minister who likes the activities in Factor I is the "external adapter," interested in the improvement of city life, influencing community organizations, helping victims of social injustice, theological interpretations of movies and art forms, experimenting with new worship forms, and participating in ecumenical ministerial associations.[1]

Diagonally opposite this minister at the other extreme of the action field I would place Factor II, the "eternal integrator," in whose role-preferences the first six items are: privately encountering God through prayer, participating in evangelistic meetings, winning a lost soul to Christ, teaching people to use their Bibles in personal meditations, reading the Holy Bible, and maintaining a disciplined life of prayer and personal devotion. This role-cluster also includes most of the pastoral care functions.

---

[1] In order not to overburden the text of this chapter with any more tables, I am not listing the separate items of each factor with their correlation coefficients, but simply indicating the types of items that cluster together in the various factors.

The minister portrayed in Factor III likes precisely the kinds of activities most ministers put at the bottom of their lists. He is the "internal-external manager," who enjoys helping to manage church finances, running the church office, working with boards and committees, completing building projects, and interesting people in church activities. He is also interested in community and denominational activities, and expresses a preference for coordinating the various ministerial roles to become a "pastor director."

The minister represented by Factor V,[1] on the other hand (or, the other side of the action field), is the "adaptive reflector," who concentrates not on management but on interpretation. He wants to provide in the church greater opportunity for adult study and reflections; engage the adults of his congregation in a search for the concrete meaning of their Christian commitment for responsibilities in work and leisure; obtain information about significant developments in education that might benefit his congregation; help relate the Christian heritage and the modern world; be a theologian of the congregation; and be more concerned with the secular than with institutional religion.

---

[1] Factor IV is the "career specialist" who wants above all else to be appointed to a large and prestigeful church.

Factor VI is the preacher, for whom the three most enjoyable activities are preaching sermons, leading public worship, and preparing sermons. Complementing him in the center of the L-I continuum is the counselor-pastor, Factor VII; he is ready to counsel with people not only about major decisions and personal problems, but about the problems for their thought in relating Christian faith and the world. He ministers to the sick, dying, and bereaved, and is ready to play the conciliator role.

In Factor VIII is represented the "idea man" who likes ideas for their own sake. He enjoys discussing contemporary theology with educated persons; wants to be a theologian of the congregation, but would also enjoy obtaining a teaching position in a college or seminary. He greatly enjoys teaching undergraduates and graduate students, and is ready to follow a definite schedule of reading and study.[1]

Interestingly enough, the "priest" (who may or may not be in fact a priest), Factor IX, shares with the idea man the taste for discussing contemporary theology; but the other items in his role-cluster are administering communion, conducting a baptismal service, leading public worship, reading the Bible, teaching children, and ministering to the sick, dying, bereaved, and aged.

---

[1] This factor probably includes many liberals and/or campus ministers, for in the cluster of role functions are also some of the "external adaptive" items.

The "internal integrator," Factor X, could be called the "children's teacher," for this is what he enjoys most of all. He also enjoys recruiting and training lay leaders and teachers and fostering fellowship at church gatherings. So does the "organizer-trouble-shooter," Factor XI; but above these two last-mentioned functions he places maintaining harmony and handling troublemakers, playing the conciliator role, and promoting and creating enthusiasm for church activities.

Factor XII, finally, is the "external goal-achiever," for whom the action words like "influencing," "participating," "spotting," and "creating" fill the bill, whether he is dealing with denomination, community, city, church boards, or local ministerial association. There are some indications in the statement-correlations that the minister with these interests finds it somewhat easier than others do to become the "big operator," when his "directing" is not linked with "pastoring."

These factors show the wide variation of ministerial styles within the one balance-of-tensions that is "the minister's role." Patently, it would be absurd to expect any one person to cope with the many functions represented by the extremes of this action field. Yet it is as just such a combination of opposites that the role of the average minister is defined, and somehow he must act within this very balance-of-tensions. In the remaining section of the chapter we will try to see what this means for the minister in relation to the question of his authority.

C. Evaluations: Normative Tensions, Flexible Roles

> One can think of no principle of technique which naturally associates the activities of the clergyman: he directs the business affairs of his parish, marries, baptizes, comforts the sad, prays for the recovery of the sick, and acts as interpreter of morals and theology. The functions are set in a traditional and somewhat arbitrary complex; they are prerogatives.[1]

Everett Hughes would probably be even more hard-put to think of a principle of technique associating the activities of the clergyman had he included in the list just quoted some of the newer adaptive specialties of the ministry! It is true that no principle of _technique_ unites these many activities; rather, I have tried to show that different normative ministerial activities belong to the four functional directions of the action field--and what unites them all in one role is the assumption that the minister in a local church is responsible for the total action field.

How has this situation come about? As a very broad historical judgment, I offer the opinion that the ministry was for a very long time seen as a _pattern-maintenance_ activity; it shifted to _integrative_ functions; _goal-attainment_ responsibilities were added; and now more and more _adaptive_ functions are being performed by ministers. In sum, the course of the historical development of the ministry has been a movement around the four directions of the action field, and as each new role-emphasis was added, all of the former ones were kept so that now the minister's normative role-definition shows almost equal pulls on him from all four directions.

---

[1] Everett C. Hughes, _Men and Their Work_, p. 27.

Let us recall the images of the Church as (L) holy institution, (I) community, (G) organization, and (A) task force. I suggest that these images of the Church are not only four normative views which have been present all through Church history; they are also views which have followed each other in temporal succession as the emphasis shifted from one action field direction to the next. The minister's roles have shifted in the same fashion. Blizzard remarks that in the minister's traditional roles (priest, teacher, and preacher), he functions in the world of ideas; but the neotraditional (pastor) and contemporary (administrator, organizer) roles are those in which he is most involved in relations with people.[1] The traditional roles are primarily pattern-maintenance ones; pastoral roles are integrative (as are evangelistic roles); and administrative and organizing roles are primarily goal-attainment oriented, for they require dealing with organizational aims, not just with the internal life of a church community as was true in Pietism. To these three role-emphases should now be added the fourth, the great variety of trained specialist (adaptive) roles in which ministers have come to be engaged during the past generation. The recent theological emphasis upon the Church as mission-in-the-world I also take to be an indication of a new emphasis upon the adaptive direction.

---

[1] "The Minister's Dilemma," in Johnson, The Church and Its Changing Ministry, p. 77.

The results are that for the parish minister all four sets of norms are operative at once. He is expected to be a symbolic representative and learned interpreter of the faith, a loving pastor, an efficient organization man, and a well-trained resource person aware of what is happening in the world. This balance-of-tensions is quite healthy in a way, for the minister can use the pulls from the four directions against each other to keep from becoming static in any one emphasis. But the combination of the four sets of norms also means that neither the minister nor his people are quite sure of the basis of the minister's authority for undertaking certain actions. Is his authority primarily determined by a theological definition of his task, by his relationships with his people, by denominational regulations and procedures, or by his special training?

Various writers on the work of the ministry emphasize ministerial activities in one or another of the four action field directions as the proper work of the minister, to which all other activities take second place. Gustafson and Tillich in these statements choose the interpretation of the faith as most important:

> The activities of the parish clergyman, insofar as they are directed and governed by the Church's knowledge of God, are expressions of his theological reflection. The point of his identification as a Christian minister is his loyalty to the Church's understanding of God, and of man in relation to God. The minister stands between the Church's understanding of God and the needs of a particular

congregation or parish as he sees them in the light of his belief.[1]

> The principle of the priesthood of all believers . . . has given to the minister the highest function that Protestantism knows, namely, to preach the "Word," which includes the administration of the sacraments and (in Calvinism) the exercise of the discipline.[2]

Martin Marty, in a slightly different view, sees theologizing as the technical specialty of the minister (that is, as more of an adaptive than a pattern-maintenance activity):

> A minister may be a preacher, a counselor, a pastoral director, a priest--but in every instance he is to be first of all a theologian. He has no other reason for separate vocational existence. . . . At what is the minister "first best"? Though neither he not his public need use the term, they must grow in the understanding that he is to be trained to theologize. A technical society has no other way of regarding its servants, including the minister who must in many ways be a "general practitioner."[3]

Elwyn A. Smith agrees:

> Thus far there has been too little suggestion that theology needs to be understood technically--that is to say, that theology is not an inert body of data, a static sacred tradition existing apart from the tasks of those who study it, but a discipline necessary to a functional ministry.[4]

But Gibson Winter protests against such professional theologizers:

---

[1] James M. Gustafson, Treasure in Earthen Vessels: The Church as a Human Community (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1961), p. 63.

[2] Paul Tillich, "The Relevance of the Ministry in Our Time and Its Theological Foundation," in Hofmann, Making the Ministry Relevant, p. 21.

[3] Martin E. Marty, "Cultural Education Is Pre-Theological," in Keith R. Bridston and Dwight W. Culver, eds., The Making of Ministers: Essays on Clergy Training Today (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1964), p. 132.

[4] "Training for a Functional Ministry," ibid., pp. 151-152.

> In some ways, our theological professionals are a kind of Mandarin class in the churches, cultivating a theological expertise which is quite irrelevant to the fundamental problems of life.[1]

These men have all emphasized the minister's dealing with _ideas_. On the other side of the action field in the integrative direction, John B. Coburn picks up the other half of the minister's normative combination of ideas-and-people:

> The purpose of the ministry is reconciliation. Ministers are reconcilers. They are "in-the-middle" and because men have become separated from one another and from God, and the minister's task is to bring them together again.[2]

But Joseph Sittler insists that, however high the ideals of theological educators, the minister in the end winds up being a goal-attainer anyway:

> One learns that he is held together--if he is--by his public role of responsibility for the external advancement of his congregation. . . . The minister, like it or not, is the executive officer.[3]

All of these statements beginning "The minister is . . ." are statements intended to portray a normative picture of the minister's role. But they are not drawing the picture with the same pen and from the same perspective. Some of the statements are _descriptive of a state of affairs_ in the work of ministers (i.e., "The minister is the executive officer"). Others are _prescriptive_ of what the minister _should be_ ("The minister is to be first of all a theologian"). And a third group of statements are ideological, that is, theological definitions of the minister's role ("Ministers are reconcilers"). It is not to be wondered at that the average minister is often unsure of just what he is: his faith-understanding, his professional training, and the requirements of his job tend all too often to present him with contradictory rather than complementary norms.

---

[1] "Theological Schools: Partners in the Conversation," _ibid_., p. 163.

[2] John B. Coburn, _Minister: Man-in-the-Middle_ (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1963), p. 21.

[3] "The Maceration of the Minister," in Johnson, _The Church and Its Changing Ministry_, p. 80 (reprinted from _The Christian Century_, June 10, 1959, pp. 698-701).

Another factor operating to produce uncertainty in ministers' role-images is the fact that no one of the minister's actions, taken by itself, is today peculiar or unique to his work alone. Does the minister specialize in communication? So do teachers, announcers, and reporters. Does he symbolically portray a world-view? So do motion picture and television actors, and they have wider audiences. Does he interpret events and give directions for action? So do politicians and columnists. Does he counsel with persons about their problems? So do psychiatrists, social workers, Ann Landers, and a host of other specialists. Does he help with the celebration of significant life-events? So do undertakers, department-store bridal salons, and justices of the peace. Is he at the center of action as groups engage in symbolic celebration of their values? So are professional athletes, politicians, and lodge presidents. Is he the executive leader of an organization? So are most of his members, in some high-status congregations. People are not "unreligious" in our society: it is only that there are now available so many functional substitutes for organized religion that the nature of the actions in which the minister engages is no longer what differentiates him radically from other men. In short, a functional interpretation of the minister's work as defined by what he does for people is not very useful; there are too many others offering the same functions.

The work of the minister is incomprehensible if God is left out of the picture. Lest this be taken as a retreat from the "external" to the "eternal," I hasten to add that by "leaving God out of the picture" I refer not only to the defining of the minister's actions by their functional effects on the one hand, but also to "leaving God out of the picture" in the opposite direction by putting "God" in the supernatural realm away from the world and making the minister the symbolic connector between God and men.

And the work of ministry is not the prerogative of clergymen. Here I make a normative statement which I intend to be theological, descriptive, and prescriptive: The church is the minister. By "church" I do not mean a holy institution, a gathered community, a denominational organization, or a special religious task force. The church is that body of people in the world by whom the reality of new life is being made manifest, whether these people are in the churches or not. It is those who do the will of the Father, in whom the Holy Spirit is present, among whom the form of the Son is evident.[1]

---

[1] "Not everyone who calls me 'Lord, Lord' will enter the kingdom of Heaven, but only those who do the will of my

The roles of the clergyman must finally be interpreted in this context which is wider even than the context of the Christian faith and the Christian Church. He is one among many ministers, one specialized organ of the body of ministry. But his situation is now such that he does work within the community and organizational structures of the Christian Church. Limiting the remainder of our discussion to this context, what judgments does the action field theory allow us to make about the clergyman's specialized role?

Two basic conditions which I have already specified in earlier chapters still hold true: _norms are not absolutes_, and _the tensions of the action field are necessary_. This means, first of all, that the minister's actions cannot be determined by absolutes grounded in faith-interpretations, organizational polities, community relationships, or situational exigencies. But every one of these serves as a legitimate source of _norms_, and these norms must be held in tension against each other so that the clergyman is able to respond appropriately to demands for action as circumstances require. The role-definitions of the clergyman are not ideal patterns into which he must fit, but are guidelines for action which emerge at the intersections and coming-together of faith-

---

heavenly Father" (Matt. 7:21, _New English Bible_).

The reader may well be wondering what I mean by "God." Since I cannot in this dissertation present an extended theological interpretation of anything I say, the only statements I will offer are these: first, by "God" I mean _God_, not some normative definition of God--I am not willing to dissipate mystery and symbolic language into collections of definitive statements; second, I am convinced that we cannot talk about God and the world in two different realms of discourse.

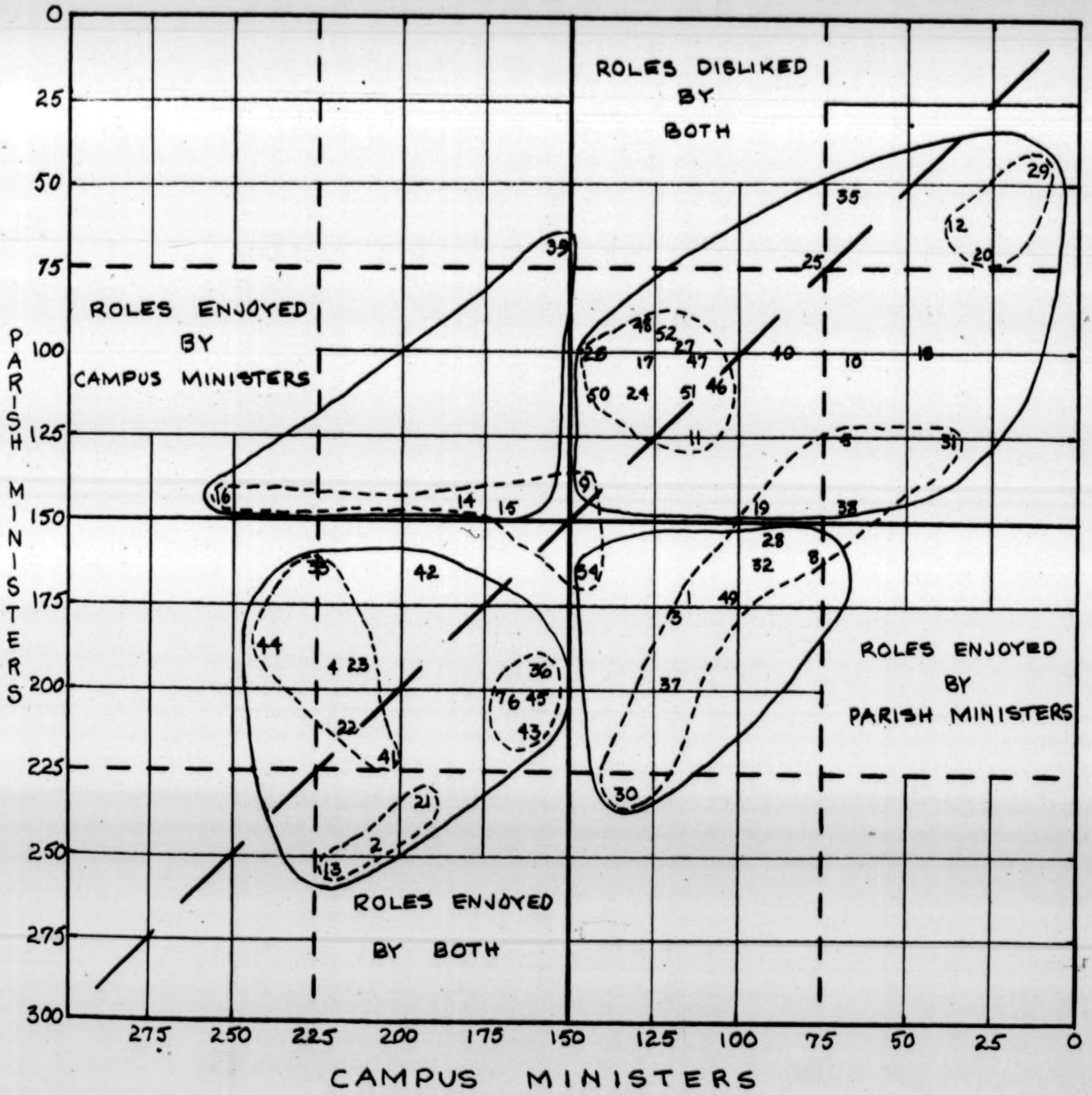
understandings and situations, relationships and tasks.

Secondly, if the pulls of the action field are understood to be interconnected continua rather than dichotomies, there is no point in saying that the pastor's role is symbolic _or_ functional, theoretical _or_ relational. There are no rigid boundaries between these concepts; they are simply terms referring to the ends of continua (or balances of tensions). Some of the minister's roles will be more symbolic than functional, but they will not be _only_ symbolic. Others will be more dependent on relationships than on theory, but the theory will still be present. The acrimonious debates between churchmen, and the efforts for reform, are signs that the balance-of-tensions defining the minister's role has been unbalanced and one extreme or another of the action field has been made an absolute. In such cases the extreme is countered with its opposite--as in arguments now being offered that ministers have become only symbols and instead their work should be seen as purely functional.

Thirdly, the work of ministry (not just the work of the clergyman) is not complete without attention being given to role-functions (present and yet-to-emerge) in each of the four action field directions of pattern-maintenance, goal-attainment, integration, and adaptation. What this might mean for the "general practitioner" clergyman is that his normative role-image could be that of the _specialist in linking_ the demands of the action field within the context of a church community in which the whole membership carries on the work of ministry to each other and to their situation. The pastor might not be directly responsible for all of the work of interpretation, of pastoral service, of bringing in resources, and of organizational goal-attainment; but there is value in his being the one man set free to work with members who share these different responsibilities. His positions as leader of worship, organizational co-ordinator, office manager, communicator, and resource-arranger would then be seen not as special prerogatives of his role as clergyman but as both functionally and symbolically useful as expressions of his "linking" work for the whole body.

What this balance-of-tensions in the action field of the work of ministry might mean for the clerical profession as a whole is that there would be room for many specialties so long as no one of them became disconnected from the total work of ministry (as done by ordained and unordained ministers), and so long as the tensions between specialties at opposite extremes of the action field remained fruitful and not destructive. Conflict and differences of opinion are processes which can lead to hitherto unimagined directions of action, so long as there is a common understanding that the work of ministry is that task in which men are held together even in the midst of their differences.

FIGURE 9: MINISTERS' ENJOYMENT OF THEIR ROLES



CHAPTER VII

SANCTIONS: RESOURCES AND CONTROLS OF THE MINISTER'S ACTION

> . . . They dragged Jason and some of the brethren before the city authorities, crying, "These men who have turned the world upside down have come here also, and Jason has received them; and they are all acting against the decrees of Caesar, saying that there is another king, Jesus." And the people and the city authorities were disturbed when they heard this.[1]

Thus far, under the criterion of legitimation we have dealt with the grounding of the minister's authority in a life-view; under status, with his position in the Church's structured relationships; and under situations dealt with, with the defining of his responsibilities. Now, under the criterion of sanctions, we turn to a consideration of the minister's exercise of his authority. We are concerned with two things: the resources available to ministers for effective action, and the kinds of controls exerted over them by those with whom they interact.

Sanctions have to do with the power aspect of authority. "The rules" may specify that a person has the right to direct others' behavior in certain ways; but unless this right is joined with resources which make that directing possible, the "authority" is such in name only. Power is not authority without the factor of rightfulness--and authority is ineffectual without some power-resources. In structured authority-positions these resources are embodied in the normative sanctions which can be brought into play. (I specify authority-positions to allow for instances of charismatic authority which do not involve continuing structured relationships nor sanctions.) Sanctions are positive or negative consequences of interaction--a matter of "If you act in such-and-such a way, then I will react in this way." When people in structured interaction are aware of the possibilities of such consequences, the sanctions function as controls over their behavior without the necessity of force being brought to bear: "What are expectations to ego are sanctions to alter and vice versa."[1] A person wishing to get something done uses sanctions as resources; but by the same token, those with whom he interacts can control or modify his behavior also by the use of sanctions.

---

[1] Acts 17:6-8 (Revised Standard Version).

Sanctions are brought into play at the points and times where persons in a relationship must deal with situations. The situation, that is, is the "outside factor" calling for action which precipitates interaction between persons in the "inside" relationship and brings sanctions out in the open. Sanctions are latent until one person wants to influence others to act, or until one acts and others react.

To comprehend the nature of sanctions in an authority-relationship, it appears that we need to look at two things:

---

[1] Parsons, The Social System, p. 40.

first, the normative structure of the relationship--who is related to whom in what ways, how positions are arranged and roles specified, what aims are desired, what normative life-interpretations are shared, and what limitations are placed on the scope of persons' responsibilities;[1] and, second, the process of exercise of sanctions--who exercises what sanctions over whom, when, and why?

In this chapter I shall deal first with the kinds of sanctions that are built into the minister's action field through normative expectations of his relationships with others. I shall examine some case studies of ministers' leadership in social action as illustrations of the operation of these sanctions; and the final section of the chapter will be an evaluation of the relevance of sanctions for ministerial authority.

A. Sanctions and the Minister's Action Field

1. The Context of the Minister's Work

Ministers' actions cannot be analyzed in the abstract, apart from the context of the web of relationships with other people in which they must make decisions and carry them out. What people are normative "reference groups" for ministers?

---

[1] I am not proposing that the "normative structure" is the factor to examine in every case of the use of sanctions. It *is* important in the study of authority relationships where persons are in some way members of the same collectivity. In other cases, the *differences* between interacting persons are the important factors, not those things they have in common. To propose either a "common value" theory or a "conflict of interest" theory as *the one way* of interpreting social interaction is to miss factors just as important as the ones for which the theory accounts. This is one area in which sociologists need to operate by the principle of complementarity--sometimes they need a theory of shared values, sometimes a theory of conflict of interests, and sometimes both at the same time! On the differences between these kinds of theories, see Sister Marie Augusta Neal, S.N.D., *Values and Inter-*

There are, first, the people with whom the minister works--those who lay claims upon his services, whether they are members of his congregation or just "people in general." A pastor in a large city church may work with a constant stream of transients and often be in touch with city officials; a long-time pastor in a quiet village may have worked with the same people most of his career, so that he has baptized the grandchildren of couples he married.

There are, second, the people with whom the minister is identified in the sharing of a common faith. This "reference group" may be as small as a dozen sect members, or as wide as all "religious" prople of all times. Between these two extremes, there are many variations and the boundaries of the faith-community are not always specifiable: is a minister's faith-reference group at a particular time his local Southern Baptist congregation, Southern Baptists in general, all Protestants, "evangelical" Protestants, American Christians, the present world-wide Church, the historical community of believers in Christ, or the Western Religions?

Third, there are the groups with whom the minister is related in structured organizations--his congregation, his denomination, fellow clergy of the same and other denominations,

---

ests in Social Change (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1965), pp. 1-10; and C. Wright Mills, The Sociological Imagination, pp. 31-44.

local regional, national, and international councils of churches, administrative superiors and lay boards and committees. Ministers are also citizens of communities, states, nations--and members of organizations such as Rotary and the Temperance Society.

Fourth, there are various people with whom ministers may share occupational ties. Their primary occupational reference group is the clergy, but they may also share common interests and contacts with people in other "service occupations" such as teachers, doctors, lawyers, welfare workers, city officials, morticians, and policemen.

Depending upon the circumstances, ministers may also feel a general kinship with a nebulous fifth group: college-educated persons, other "symbolic" persons, other bureaucratic employees, and so forth.

The kinds of relationships--formal and informal--which a minister has with all of these reference-groups will be a potent source of resources and controls for his action. Because these groups lay different claims upon him, at different levels, the minister can justify his actions to himself (no matter what he does) by saying that he is fulfilling someone else's expectations. But the minister will also have to justify his actions to members of these various reference-groups: and, because their expectations for him are usually not the same, he will weight the opinions of some people more than others and will employ various strategems to keep from becoming schizophrenic in an attempt to satisfy everyone. These strategems will include segmentation of relationships; interpretive and structural norms for relating expectations of one group to those of others; and playing various groups against each other so that no one reference-group exercises an overwhelming control over his actions. Ministers will exercise the greatest authority when the demands of various reference-groups reinforce each other: when the Christian faith, the congregation's opinion, the denominational norms, the law of the land, and the opinions of the general community all say the same thing, the minister has a clear mandate for action. The hidden catch in this is, of course, that "what the Christian faith says" is a matter of interpretation--if it's expedient that a heretic be burned, churchmen easily find justification in "the faith" for doing it. But the Christian faith, as embodied in scriptures, communities, and individual lives, has also a way of breaking out of normative interpretations again and again to serve as a judgment upon men's actions.

2. Tensions in the Minister's Role-Expectations

Not only is it true that the minister must act in the tensions between the demands of different groups of people; it is also the fact, as I have pointed out in the three preceding chapters, that the normative definitions of the patterns of action expected of ministers contain within them a balance of tensions. The minister is expected to be pulled in four directions. He must be the symbolic representative and the interpreter of the Christian faith, the norm-upholder (pattern-maintenance); he must manifest deep concern for persons' needs and promote warm personal relationships within the church fellowship (integration); he must be an active leader in the accomplishing of organizational goals and projects (goal-attainment); and he must be technically well-trained and aware of the needs for adjustment of the Church's action to its changing situation (adaptation). There are tensions and congruities between all of these normative expectations. Pattern-maintenance and integrative roles are congruent in that the minister functions symbolically in both of them; but they are conflicting when pattern-maintenance demands that the minister pronounce judgment from the standpoint of the Christian life-view and integration demands that he maintain close relationships with his people. Pattern-maintenance and adaptation both demand an ability to deal with theory in the interpretation of life; but there are tensions between the demands of keeping the established faith-pattern stable and those of adjusting to circumstances. Integration and goal-attainment roles are alike in that the interests of the church group are at stake in both; but these roles of the minister conflict in that on the one hand he is supposed to be a certain kind of person in relation to individuals and the group, and on the other hand he has to ask these people to do certain things for the good of the organization. Goal-attainment and adaptation are alike in that both roles are governed by criteria of specificity and performance, and both roles concern actions in the area of relationships between the church and situations of the environment; but there is conflict between these roles in that the adaptive pull is more toward adjusting to the environment and goal-attainment is more toward using the environmental resources to accomplish aims of the group.

The diagonal tensions of the pattern (L-G and A-I) are especially difficult to combine. Two roles that do combine diagonal tensions are roles of high prestige in our society: the statesman who can link effective leadership with a profound understanding of social values (goal-attainment/pattern-maintenance link), and the psychiatrist who is both technically trained and sensitive to persons (adaptation/integration link). It is probable that when ministers are adept at these kinds of links they are performing roles much like these two models I have mentioned.

Sister Marie Augusta Neal has found in a study of Roman Catholic clergy in the Boston Diocese that there are significant differences in attitudes toward social change between four groups of priests: those oriented toward values and change (adaptive), toward interests and change (goal-attainment), toward values and non-change (pattern-maintenance), and toward interests and non-change (integrative).[1]

---

[1] Values and Interests in Social Change--table 1.1, pp. 15-16.

Change Oriented

(A) Value Oriented	Interest Oriented (G)
The Prophet	The Cosmopolitan Organizational Man
Identifies with ultimate values of Christianity, but has no deep binding commitment to specific goals or norms, especially if they're not functional for the expression of values. Major concern is the articulation of Church with society.	Oriented to attainment of specific goals defined by Church functionaries. Strives to attain these by traditional or change-oriented methods, whichever is most effective. Even values are sometimes made subsidiary to goal-attainment. Emphasis on organization and power to achieve his ends.

Nonchange Oriented

(L) Value Oriented	Interest Oriented (I)
The Priest	The Local Organizational Man
Oriented to values traditionally stressed, and to preservation of patterns expressing these values. Considers God acting through the system-patterns. Norms and goals uphold values, so he's not disposed to criticize them, assuming they operate with God's approval.	Stresses primacy of the normative system. Ritual regularity is major concern. Goals and values can be subservient to procedure. Suggestion of change is defined as heresy. Ritual and values come to be perceived as effective in their own right.

Here there is apparent the same balance of tensions that I have suggested is present in the action-patterns of Protestant ministers.[1] The clergymen represented in these four sketches have unbalanced the normative tensions between faith-interpretations, community of believers, organizational goals, and external situations.

---

[1] The reader will note that Sister Marie Augusta's interpretation of the integrative pull is different from that with which I have been operating. This may stem from our different starting-points, Roman Catholic and Protestant; I assume an independence of personal faith from organizational forms. The reader may also detect in Sister Marie Augusta a bias toward adaptation, as he has surely spotted it in my own writing before this point!

3. Sanctions and the Tensions of the Action Field

What kinds of sanctions (resources and controls) are available to ministers and to those with whom they interact will depend upon the norms established for their interaction. These norms will embody the various pulls of the action field. Pattern-maintenance norms will require judgment of actions by basic values and the interpretations and structures set up to express these values; integrative norms will give primary attention to the established relationships between persons; goal-attainment norms will embody judgments of effectiveness and consequences of actions directed toward the meeting of felt needs; and adaptation norms will call for judgments of technical efficiency and of proper interpretations of situations.

The kinds of responses ministers and those with whom they interact make to each other will also be governed by the action-field pulls operative in a particular situation. Parsons points out that role-expectations may involve four kinds of norms, depending upon the type of actions involved; and fulfillment of these expectations will bring four kinds of appropriate responses (sanctions). The four basic pattern variables in the "modalities of objects" and "orientations of actors" sets specify these performance and sanction norms:[1]

Performance Norms

	univ	part
perf	technical	achievement
qual	pattern-maintenance	integrative

Sanction Norms

	neut	aff
spec	approval	response
diff	esteem	acceptance

These performance norms and types of responses coincide with the several different images of the minister's status which ministers and those with whom they interact may hold. Where the minister is regarded as the interpreter of the Word and administrator of the Sacraments, he is judged by doctrinal standards as the representative of God, and persons' response to him is esteem for his office. Where he is regarded as the organizational executive, he is judged by his leadership success and people respond by following him. If he is thought of as a trained specialist, he is judged by standards appropriate to the specific actions in which he engages and people approve or disapprove of his performance in these actions. As a community integrator, he is judged by his personal qualities and the way he relates to people--and people accept him for his own sake.

a) Formal Norms--. From which of these norms does the minister draw his authority to direct the behavior of others? That is, how is he normatively given the right to exercise control?[1] There seem to be for ministers only two formal grounds for authority: their positions as interpreters of God's will (pattern-maintenance) and their positions as organizational leaders (goal-attainment). Underwood found that the clergy of "Paper City" exercised two types of authority, charismatic and rational. "Charismatic" authority here refers to "authority grounded in the special divine quality or spiritual endowment which is thought to have been conferred by a supernatural being."[2] The two important sub-types of charismatic authority by which ministers operate are charisma of office and charisma of person. In only two of the Protestant churches--Episcopal and Lutheran--do the pastors claim (as Roman Catholics do) a charismatic authority in matters of faith by nature of their clerical office.[3]

---

[1] "A Revised Analytical Approach to the Theory of Social Stratification," Essays, pp. 390ff.; see also Working Papers, p. 203.

> The major Protestant image of itself is that of a movement grounded in the personal charismatic type of authority, dedicated to the transformation of the whole function of leadership and the nature of authority.[4]
>
> Most Protestant pastors in Paper City view their own moral and religious qualities and convictions as the chief, if not sole, basis of their authority; for some it is also the major source of the church's effective witness in the community.[5]

---

[1] "By authority we mean the established right to act as a leader of men--to make judgments about their past and to anticipate their future, to form policies, to deal with controversies. The emphasis in authority is upon right and responsibility, not power or status. What gives the bishop, priest or minister the mandate to speak and act as he does; what are the theological and social grounds of his legitimacy?" (Kenneth Wilson Underwood, Protestant and Catholic: Religious and Social Interaction in an Industrial Community [Boston: The Beacon Press, 1957], p. 97).

[2] Ibid., p. 98.

[3] Ibid., p. 102.

[4] Ibid., p. 99.

[5] Ibid., p. 105.

In "rational" authority, Underwood observes, "the right to leadership is grounded upon the nature and necessities of organization, which can be understood by all intelligent and sensible men."[1] The Protestant clergy of Paper City were more prone to depend upon personal charismatic authority than upon rational authority: "The Paper City churches whose leadership expresses in sermons and interviews the widest social-moral concerns are the most indifferent to the development of rational organization."[2] In the terms of the action field theory as I have presented it, they relied upon symbolic-theoretical actions more than on functional-relational ones; upon pattern-maintenance norms more than upon goal-attainment ones.

These norms, however, are not easily separable. Mills argues that "cultural values" or symbols do not in themselves exert any power apart from the effects they have upon people's roles in powerful _institutions_:

> Those in authority attempt to justify their rule over institutions by linking it, as if it were a necessary consequence, with widely believed-in moral symbols, sacred emblems, legal formulae. . . . Social scientists, following Weber, call such conceptions "legitimations," or sometimes "symbols of justification." . . . Such symbols, however, do not form some autonomous realm within a society; their social relevance lies in their use to justify or to oppose the arrangement of power and the positions within this arrangement of the powerful. Their psychological relevance lies in the fact that they become the basis for adherence to the structure of power or for opposing it. . . . Unless they justify institutions and motivate persons to enact institutional roles, "the values" of a society, however important in various private milieux, are historically and sociologically irrelevant.[3]

---

[1] _Ibid_., p. 99. [2] _Ibid_., p. 120.

[3] C. Wright Mills, _The Sociological Imagination_, pp. 36, 37, 38.

Within the church as voluntary association, such legitimations and symbols are an important source of whatever sanctions the minister is able to exercise. His most important sanction for directing others' behavior is to be able to convince them that obedience to God demands a certain course of action in a situation. (This may not be his most powerful sanction--he probably will get people to act more quickly if he convinces them they'll lose money or prestige if they don't follow a certain course of action.) But this responsibility for invoking ultimate values is no longer linked, in American society, with institutionalized rights to prescribe actions for the whole society. The minister holds only a Church office, not a state office.

> What has happened, essentially, is that any agency whose orientation is primarily cultural rather than societal has been deprived of legitimate authority to prescribe values and enforce norms for the society; in this sense the society has become "secularized." The religious anchorage of the values is still there, but religion is pluralistically and "privately" organized.[1]

b) Informal Norms--. In this voluntary-association Church context, the informal sources of ministers' authority play a large part in the effectiveness of their action. Gerhard Lenski observes that the power of the clergy stems from two main sources: (a) the attitude of the laity, and their respect for the ministerial office; and (b) priests' and ministers' identification with their people--ministers' preaching and pastoral functions, says Lenski, bring them, far more than other people, into "group-relevant" contacts with other members of their group.[1] This gives them a certain position in regard to the rest of society: "They are able to speak as a member of their particular group, since they are not directly dependent upon anyone outside it."[2] The integrative factors in ministers' action fields thus are an important resource for directing the behavior of others.

---

[1] Parsons, Theory of Society, I, p. 46. I would take issue with Parsons' opinion of the present religious anchorage of American values. If they are so anchored, it is mostly in name. Religious value-sanctions exercise no primary control over public policy.

The adaptive resources of ministers probably ought to be regarded as informal sources of authority in the usual patterns of ministers' actions. However much a minister may be formally trained, people do not usually ascribe authority to him because of this training as they would for a lawyer or doctor. Ministerial specialists such as musicians or directors of education may be given formal authority because of their training; but the preacher-pastor has to prove his case and convince people that his interpretation of the situation is the right one. Laymen in Protestant churches are willing to argue interpretations with their ministers on the basis of their common faith, rather than simply taking the minister's word because he has been theologically trained.

4. The Minister's Action Field Tensions as Resources and Controls

The same factors in the minister's normative pattern of relationship and role-expectations which serve him as resources for action may also serve those with whom he interacts as controls over the minister's actions. The minister is supposed to be an interpreter of the faith--and he may be relegated to the "spiritual" realm and not allowed to speak of "practical" matters. As pastor, a minister has influence because of his many "group-relevant" contacts--but he also is under pressure to cater to the wishes of group members. He has power as organizational executive and denominational representative--but he must be "successful" in expanding his church and carrying out denominational programs. He has status as a member of the clergy, and can call on colleagues for support--but he is also in competition with fellow ministers. He is relatively independent of economic control from the wider community because his salary comes from his members--but he may lose his livelihood if he displeases those members. He is expected to make moral, spiritual, and ethical judgments of others' actions--but he may be ignored and may lose members when his judgments offend people. He is often backed up by denominational superiors--but his career is also controlled by those superiors. He, perhaps more than most others, has "grass roots" contact with all sorts of people--but he has to persuade those people to support him in actions he wants to take.

---

[1] Lenski, The Religious Factor, pp. 285-286.

[2] Ibid., p. 286.

Both minister and members of a church have access to doctrinal, relational, organizational, and instrumental-resource sanctions. Various formal and informal mechanisms will help to determine what sanctions are exercised. The occupational regulations for ministers are one such set of mechanisms: church polity (episcopal, connectional, free-church, Presbyterian, etc.); the assumption that the ministry is a lifelong work; provisions for mobility of ministers; requirements for training and for occupational membership; procedures for outside appeal in cases of controversy; and doctrines of ministerial calling and responsibilities--all serve to give the minister some measure of autonomy as a member of the clergy. Laymen can exert sanctions in that they have at least joint control with ministers over economic and organizational policy in most Protestant denominations, in some more than in others. This is not the case in Roman Catholic churches, where the power of dispersal of funds and accumulation of parish debts does not belong to the laity.[1]

The average Protestant minister is relatively free from being told by anyone what he must do; but he also lacks the support of official pronouncements that the only path to heaven is through his actions in dispensing the Sacraments. His role-definitions are not so rigid that he has no room for innovation; but by the same token he is not very sure what he ought to be doing, so he often becomes "other-directed" to the point where he is going in several directions at once.[2] He acts in a balance-of-tensions which provides him with resources for making appropriate responses to demands from any direction; but he breaks the tension by giving too much weight to norms of one or two of the action field pulls. So long as the requirements upon him are confined to the normative expectations of his roles within the local church, he functions comfortably. But situations change, and ministers are faced with new roles wherein norms and sanctions are not settled. Then the sanctions which were latent in the normative pattern come into the open as ministers and the groups with whom they relate have to react to situational demands.

---

[1] Underwood, Protestant and Catholic, p. 117.

[2] "The Protestant ministers see their ministry as calling for 'all round' concern about people and the community, and believe that when a minister becomes a specialist, he necessarily 'abstracts' a 'part' of life from the whole. This means actually that each minister pursues highly individual interests of his own . . . or devotes his time entirely to the operation of the traditional services of his church" (ibid., p. 121).

B. Illustrations of the Operation of Sanctions

Isn't it god's own image? . . .
wouldn't you like to be like that, well off, and quite
the thing?

Oh, but wait!
Let him meet a new emotion, let him be faced with another
man's need,
let him come home to a bit of moral difficulty, let life
face him with a new demand on his understanding
and then watch him go soggy, like a wet meringue.
Watch him turn into a mess, either a fool or a bully.
Just watch the display of him, confronted with a new
demand on his intelligence,
a new life-demand.[1]

In this section, I shall draw illustrations from two case studies of ministers' roles in race relations[2] to show

---

[1] D. H. Lawrence, "How Beastly the Bourgeois Is," in Oscar Williams, ed., _A Little Treasury of Modern Poetry: English and American_ (rev. ed.; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1952), pp. 747-748.

[2] Ernest Q. Campbell and Thomas F. Pettigrew, _Christians in Racial Crisis: A Study of Little Rock's Ministry_ (Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1959); and Henry Clark, _The_

how factors involved in the normative structuring of the four directions of the minister's action field serve as resources for effective leadership and also as effective negative sanctions upon his attempts at social reform. I have chosen these case studies for illustrations because they are reports of reactions of ministers and their people in the face of *new* demands for which there are no long-established guidelines for action: it is in such cases that the operation of sanctions is most visible.[1]

a) Resources and controls of pattern-maintenance--. The minister is expected to exert in his role as faith-interpreter the sanctions of moral and spiritual norms.[2] But he cannot exert these sanctions if he is not able to make an unequivocal statement of the demands of obedience to God in a

---

Church and Residential Desegregation: A Case Study of an Open Housing Covenant Campaign (New Haven: College and University Press, Publishers, 1965).

[1] I have not used material from the Danforth Foundation Ministry Survey as illustrations in this chapter because there are few statements in the survey directly concerned with sanctions; and the correlations of the many statements indirectly bearing on the questions have not yet been done. Some of these relevant-but-indirect statements are those in Part I dealing with norms for ethical action (Nos. 9, 24, 26, 91, 95, 100, 110, 111, 112), and the whole of Part V ("Social Issues").

[2] "The minister is also the advocate of the spiritual and the moral, in contrast to the material and the expedient. His is one of the few professional roles that . . . is dedicated to an absolute and timeless ideology, to principle rather than to the propitious. . . . Implicitly, then, he deals in criticism. . . . He tries . . . to set a standard of justice and equity for those in other positions of public leadership" (Campbell and Pettigrew, pp. 117-118).

particular situation.[1] In the Little Rock school integration crisis, the only ministers who made unequivocal judgments that the will of God dictated certain actions were the sect segregationists, who were certain that God willed segregation, and the "innovators" who were certain that God willed integration. Most of the "influentials" and "inactives" among the Little Rock ministers may have been privately favorable to integration, but they did not state publicly that it was God's will.[2] Instead, they preached sermons dealing with vague generalities about the needs for love, law-and-order, and consideration of "deeper issues"; and about the need for each Christian to make up his mind about what God's will was for him.[3] This ritual action also included the prayer services which were designed to promote understanding between the warring factions--and which symbolized the ministers' desire to put an end to their involvement in controversy.[1]

---

[1] "Assuming that faithful Protestants desire to follow 'the will of God,' the task of the clergy . . . is to establish clearly that segregation is against 'the will of God'" (ibid., p. 7).

"In terms of group dynamics, the clergyman is the leader who sustains group norms by embodying them better than any other member of the group. Any norms not exhibited by the clergyman will cease to have authority over laymen; or to describe the situation as it more often exists, an equivocal interpretation of what the norms require will be perceived and adopted by laymen who for other reasons of their own are not particularly eager to live up to the norms" (Clark, p. 67).

[2] "In Little Rock, neither of the two major clerical moves--the condemnation of Faubus and the peace prayers--declared segregation morally wrong. Yet moral judgments are the unique source of ministerial influence" (Campbell and Pettigrew, p. 135).

[3] Ibid., pp. 100-104.

By contrast, the two ministers who were most effective in promoting the signing of an open housing covenant in "Newfield" not only preached sermons stating directly that the Christian faith demanded racial justice; they also (a) handed out covenant cards to members in the worship service instead of leaving them in the church vestibule; (b) followed up sermons with continued confrontation of members with facts and moral judgments; (c) spoke directly to individuals to urge them to sign cards; and (d) enlisted the interpretation-help of active social action committees.[2] Clark found that the clergymen's influence was important for the Newfield people who signed the covenant; but it was not the clergymen's authority of office that was decisive--it was what they did or said in connection with the covenant that was important, not the mere fact that they urged their parishioners to sign.[3]

b) Resources and controls of integration--. The minister in his roles of pastor, counselor, and group integrator has direct, diffuse, and continuing relationships with his church members. He ought to be able to draw from this relationship resources for action based upon the love and acceptance people feel for him and upon the possibilities for co-operative efforts with laymen. Campbell and Pettigrew began with a hypothesis that the more "accumulated capital" a minister had with his congregation,[1] the more he ought to be able to take daring action in times of crisis. They found this not to be the case. Instead, those "influential" ministers with the most "accumulated capital" were the ones least likely to exercise their potential influence.[2] These ministers had become so identified with their particular local congregations and so stabilized in role-expectations that when a demand for wider social action emerged they heeded the wishes of their parishioners in order not to upset the harmony of the group. By contrast, the two effective ministers in "Newfield" utilized their community-resources to a very great extent. They worked with social action committees, enlisted individuals to speak to friends and neighbors, and themselves spoke directly to individuals who had not signed the covenant. There is no mention in Campbell and Pettigrew's book of any ministers in Little Rock who worked together with laymen to apply the force of community minority-opinion to promote integration.

---

[1] "The prayer services relieved the influential ministers' compulsions to act, answered national pressures on them to act, and symbolized their desire to put the whole experience behind them and get on with the uncontroversial aspects of church work" (ibid., p. 66).

[2] Clark, pp. 106-114.

[3] Ibid., p. 163.

The _laymen_ in Little Rock were not hesitant to use community-integrative sanctions to support their views on segregation against pressures from the ministers. The ministerial "innovators," particularly, faced the consequences of reduction in church giving (not just threats), requests for membership transfer, lowered Sunday morning attendance, and rumors of dismissal sentiment.[1] After the crisis, one innovator's congregation, after proposing to reduce his salary and then not doing it, got his friends and laymen whom he trusted to urge him to leave Little Rock.[2]

---

[1] "'Accumulated capital' refers to the reservoir of support from and rapport with his congregation that a minister collects during his service in a particular post" (Campbell and Pettigrew, p. 73).

[2] _Ibid._, p. 122.

The social conflicts in Little Rock and Newfield demonstrate that the Protestant churches' emphasis upon community integration places so strong an emphasis upon _individualism_--of persons and of local churches--that demands for harmony outweigh demands for action guided by moral norms and fitted to changing situations.[3] The minister's action also is very strongly controlled by the reactions and expectations of his local congregation:

> The minister is intensely involved in the parish and the community. His career advancement depends upon the type of immediate interpersonal response he obtains from local groups. In this sense, circumstances require that he be a localite rather than a cosmopolite. Unlike the executive of a large corporation, who depends for his career advancement on his superiors rather than on local individuals or institutions, the minister rises or falls with the response of the local congregation and community.[4]

In this context, ministers emphasize "changed hearts" rather than changed behavior in social action; love rather than justice; and harmony rather than power.[5]

---

[1] _Ibid_., p. 65.

[2] _Ibid_., pp. 110-111.

[3] _Ibid_., p. 128; see Clark, pp. 197-200.

[4] Campbell and Pettigrew, p. 118.

[5] Clark, p. 200.

c) Resources and controls of goal-attainment--. The minister in his roles as organizational executive and denominational representative should be able to exert the sanctions of institutional power to accomplish specific goals; but it makes a great deal of difference whether these goals are those of self-interest or social action for ministers to decide to exercise power. Campbell and Pettigrew anticipated that the sanction of official denominational pronouncements on race relations would have served as a power-resource for Little Rock ministers in working toward the goal of supporting school desegregation. But they found that another denominational pressure canceled this one out. The ministers' "professional reference system" included expectations from colleagues and denominational superiors that they would make a moral witness; but in this reference system was also an expectation that they would be successful in building the organizational church.[1] It was also true that church executives and groups who were in a position to do so could not, or did not, impose explicit negative sanctions upon Little Rock ministers for not conforming to their expectations of social action.[2]

The ministers in Newfield who were ineffective in promoting the open housing covenant had "a virtual phobia against the use of power in dealing with people."[3] Their idea of moral action was idealistic and individualistic rather than pragmatic and social:

---

[1] Campbell and Pettigrew, p. 88.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Clark, p. 200.

> There was not enough "goal-direction" in the thinking of Newfield clergymen: they were so preoccupied with the ideal of social reform as inwardly moral (that is, voluntary) that they did not give sufficient attention to the moral pressures which needed to be brought on their people in order that the desired reform might take place.[1]

Many of these ineffective ministers stressed "purity of motivation" as the primary norm for judging the rightness of social action; by contrast, the two ministers who were effective in promoting the covenant directed their attention to the _consequences_ of actions such as the civil rights marches.[2]

d) Resources and controls of adaptation--. The sanctions available to ministers in the adaptation direction of the action field include two of especial importance: the minister's identification with a professional group, the clergy; and the ability of the minister to make sound interpretations of situations and convey the facts to his people.

Neither one of these sanctions was very much employed in Little Rock and Newfield. In Little Rock the ministerial association made very general pronouncements about law-and-order and prayers for peace; but then, as the eight young "innovators" continued to push for united action, the older, established "influentials" did not join in their efforts and the drive fell through.[3] The ministers also hesitated to exert any sanctions over each other--a minister was treated as a

---

[1] _Ibid_., pp. 193-194.

[2] _Ibid_., p. 105.

[3] Campbell and Pettigrew, p. 80.

"private practitioner" in his own church, and was not condemned by fellow ministers for keeping silent on the integration question.

In Newfield, Clark was impressed by "the almost total absence of lines of communication between Newfield clergymen of different faiths and races."[1] The Protestant council of clergymen initiated the open housing covenant campaign, and then invited the Roman Catholics to join them; but the Catholics were to be involved in a drive for funds for parochial schools at the time the housing covenant campaign was to be conducted, and had to put their efforts off until later in the year.

Another major point on which Clark passes judgment on the ministers of Newfield is their lack of technical wisdom, the ability to assess situations. "Despite their insistence that the Church should speak out on public issues, . . . most of the clergymen were very poorly informed on the subject of public affairs in general and race relations in particular."[2] Clark suggests that in addition to the need for greater moral wisdom (awareness of justice as the crucial norm in social ethics and of the necessity for, and the legitimacy of, the use of power), ministers need increased technical wisdom of two kinds: a greater sophistication in social analysis, and a greater awareness of what is actually happening day by day in community, nation and world.[3]

---

[1] Clark, p. 70.

[2] Ibid., p. 69. [3] Ibid., pp. 222-224.

As I have pointed out all through the discussion up to this point, the adaptive pull upon the minister is twofold: adjustment to the demands of the situation, and bringing in resources from that situation for the accomplishing of the goals of the church. The ministers who were most active in the work toward racial justice in Little Rock and Newfield were those who were most adept in meeting these situational demands and in bringing information and facts to their people.

C. Summary and Evaluations

"Sanction" is derived from a Latin word meaning "to make holy or inviolate"[1]--and to "sanction" a Protestant minister in this sense is one of the easiest ways to put him out of action. The effectiveness of his action depends on his being in the middle of things: in the close contacts of the local church, in the functional requirements of the church organization, and in the flow and conflict of men's relationships in society.

All of these engagements are for him resources for leadership. But all of them can also be anchors holding him tied down to one spot in the action field. For the Protestant minister to rest his authority exclusively in any one set of norms means that he is not free to respond to demands for varied action. He becomes vulnerable to pressures from the directions in which he is not prepared to respond. His sensitivities to the demands of Christian doctrine, the organization, the church community, and the wider environment must coalesce into a balance-of-tensions within which he can be flexible enough to perceive which demands call for his major response at a given time; then the other components of his action field become resources for meeting that demand. At the same time, when one demand becomes overwhelming, he should be able to resist it with legitimate demands from other directions.

---

[1] Webster's Collegiate Dictionary (5th ed.; Springfield, Mass.: G. & C. Merriam Co., Publishers, 1942).

"But that's impossible for any one man!" I hear the Protestant minister protesting (the one who is always looking over my shoulder as I write). Of course it is: but what has given Protestants the idea that the ministry is the work of any "one man"? This is an idea with which we must deal in Part Three, "The Ministry and The Professional Pattern."

PART THREE

THE MINISTRY AND THE PROFESSIONAL PATTERN

CHAPTER VIII

THE MINISTRY AND THE PROFESSIONAL PATTERN

> There are varieties of gifts, but the same Spirit. There are varieties of service, but the same Lord. There are many forms of work, but all of them, in all men, are the work of the same God. In each of us the Spirit is manifested in one particular way, for some useful purpose.[1]

"Can the ministry be called a profession?" This was the question with which this study opened. I explored the various meanings that have been attached to the term "profession," and proposed that it refers to a particular kind of pattern in which theory, skills, clients, and professional association frame a "balance of tensions" within which the professional works. Then, in Chapter II, I proposed the concept of authority as one key factor through which we might approach the question of the ministry as a profession; authority was likewise presented as a special pattern of relationships.

But what did these patterns signify? In Chapter III, I set the professional pattern and the authority pattern in the context of the action field pattern, a "field-theory" modification of Parsons' general theory of action, in order to give a framework for understanding the kinds of tensions that are balanced in these structures of human relationships.

---

[1] I Corinthians 12:4-7, New English Bible.

In Part Two, the action field pattern was used as the "big picture" within which we examined the normative pattern of the Protestant minister's authority, with its several variations according to which "pulls" in the action field were the strongest. This discussion was organized under the headings of the four criteria of institutions: legitimation, status, situations faced, and sanctions.

In this concluding chapter I shall be working in reverse. I shall pull together the pattern of ministerial authority which was developed in its separate aspects in Part Two. For comparison with this pattern, I shall point to some changes in the tensions of the action fields of three other "human relations" professions, with the implications of these changes for the professional authority exercised by these practitioners.

Does the minister exercise "professional authority?" I shall argue that he does *not*, if by "professional authority" is meant the authority of the independent expert practicing according to an esoteric theory possessed by him and his colleagues alone. Before arriving at this point, however, I shall try to establish that it *is* meaningful to speak of the ministry as a "profession" in comparison with other occupations known as professions.

"Authority" has been used as a term for the formal or transcendent guaranteeing of power-positions. I want to put the concept of authority into another context, that of *responsibility* and of the *quality or style of actions*. In this context, the question of the appropriateness of using the image of "profession" for the ministry becomes a strategic rather than an ideological question. Without asserting that the professional image is the only image by which the ministry may be characterized, I shall explore what it might mean, theologically and functionally, for the Church to appropriate this image.

In conclusion, I shall suggest a few of the implications for ministerial preparation and practice that might be drawn from this way of looking at the ministry.

A. The Ministry and the Professions

1. Authority in the Ministry and the Professions

Before comparing the authority of ministers with that of professionals, I must point out that the choice of "authority" as the concept through which I raise the question of the ministry as a profession means that I am dealing with the issue in a particular way and not in others. It would be possible to compare the ministry and other forms of work through the examination of the structural-functional characteristics of the several occupations: who does the work, where, with what and with whom, and so on.[1] I could have concentrated on a specific issue such as that of ministerial ordination and professional licensing, or I might have dealt with professional education alone. (I would have felt much more competent and confident in doing the study had I chosen this last alternative.)

---

[1] Theodore Caplow takes this approach in comparing professionals with building craftsmen, semiskilled factory workers, and small retail merchants on eight structural characteristics of "occupational institutions": manner of recruiting, evaluation of seniority, evaluation of merit, control of occupational behavior, occupational folkways, formation of occupational attitudes, occupational stereotypes, and changes in occupational institutions (The Sociology of Work, pp. 100-141).

The choice of authority as the key to the question of the ministry as a profession means that I am dealing with the _theory_ of professions, with the kinds of _images_ ministers and those with whom they work have of the minister's task as compared with the images professionals and their clients have of professional practitioners. Approaching the issue in this way introduces a large measure of philosophy into the discussion: I am not carrying out a sociological study in a usual sociological manner. Authority is a concept dealing with _why_ certain persons are given specific responsibilities for actions within the context of relationships they share with others: it deals more with what is expected of people than with what they do or the consequences of their actions.

One of the reasons I chose to discuss the question of ministerial authority from this philosophical/sociological perspective is that I was aware that ministers (or, at any rate, theological students and faculty) are greatly preoccupied with the question of authority--but almost exclusively from the "internal" point of view of theology. It is my hope that in this study I will have made some progress toward the delineation of an additional perspective from which the question can be raised, so that the discussion need not remain only within the one realm of discourse.

In another sense, I recognize that the issue of authority really ought not to be a matter of great concern to Protestant ministers--authority, that is, as the settling of formal norms and structures whereby they are given comprehensive control over the behavior of fellow Christians.[1] But the term "authority" is too useful to be confined within the limits of formal norms and structures: "authority" may also be used to describe the quality manifested by persons and their actions which calls forth conviction and response from others. It was this quality in the life and actions of Jesus of Nazareth which attracted his followers,[2] and it is this quality which distinguishes genuine authority from formal rights of control. I think it is better not to classify this quality as a separate type of authority--the charismatic--but to see it as the dynamic energy which may flow through many different forms of structured relationships or may change any of them.

---

[1] "Protestants have not thought of themselves primarily as protestors or as antiauthoritarian. For them the negations have been only incidental to the affirmations. And the positive thing they believed they were affirming was not some new authority in place of the old, whatever authorities needed to be acknowledged. It was rather the near or immediate possibility of a kind of life that was not subject to authority because it was ordered by the attractiveness of the good. Freedom did not mean negative liberty from authority so much as it meant positive liberty toward the goals of action. To describe his movement, his churches, his beliefs in terms of authority; to speak of them as anti-authoritarian or as substituting the authority of Bible or of conscience for ecclesiastical authority; or otherwise to deal with the gospel, the Scriptures, and the church as though the main human or Christian question were the one about authority, is always to require the Protestant to think of himself and account for himself by means of categories that are essentially strange to him. They are strange not because they are not applicable, but because they do not touch the central issue with which he is concerned and around which his internal debate takes place" (H. Richard Niebuhr, "The Protestant Movement and Democracy in the United States," in James Ward Smith and A. Leland Jamison, eds., The Shaping of American Religion [Vol. I of Religion in American Life ("Princeton Studies in American Civilization, Number 5"; Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1961)], p. 31).

[2] "When Jesus had finished this discourse the people were astounded at his teaching; unlike their own teachers he

"Authority" in this sense I understand to be the "style" marking actions disciplined and controlled by the flow of tensions through an "action field." Formal authority may be structured through norms embodying one or another of the action field directions: but so long as action is determined by these norms as though they were absolutes, this action is not "authoritative" but "authoritarian."

I have argued that the Protestant minister's action field is (or can be) just such a dynamic balance-of-tensions. His actions are responses to the "pulls" exerted upon him by his faith, his relations to the Christian community, his responsibilities, and the changing situations of his (and the churches') environment. In the "big picture" of his authority which I now draw, I shall try to show how those pulls provide norms which guide his actions.

a) The Protestant minister's authority: summary of Part Two--. The authority (i.e., "power to direct others' actions") of the Protestant minister is grounded in the Christian life-view; it is exercised in the Christian Church; it entails certain responsibilities; and it takes place in chang-

---

taught with a note of authority" (Matt. 7:28-29, New English Bible). Yet, unlike these teachers, Jesus had, by the accepted standards of the day, no formal authority at all.

ing situations with possibilities for certain resources. There is a fourfold balance-of-tensions involved in each of these factors.

The general balance-of-tensions can be (roughly) characterized as that which is set up as Christians face the four functional problems of (L) interpreting their beliefs in terms of what God is and what He has done; (I) setting norms for the relationship of persons to God and to each other in the church fellowship; (G) specifying goals the church wants to accomplish and setting up an organization to accomplish them; and (A) setting norms for the guidance of Christians in their relationships with their wider society. In the legitimation of the minister's actions by reference to the Christian life-understanding and life-style, the tensions are between faith and action and between self and others. As Christians choose various combinations of the separated poles of these tensions, the minister's authority comes to be based on absolute doctrines, sacraments, or Scriptures; special inner experiences; certain magical or pragmatic actions to manipulate God or the church to achieve worldly ends; or certain kinds of "right actions" in relationship to others (i.e., authority is based on norms drawn from pattern-maintenance, integration, goal-attainment, and adaptation considerations, respectively). The Church is seen in four ways: as holy institution, loving community, structured organization, or active movement. But the nature of the world-orientations shown by ministers emphasizing only one of the four directions of the action field is evidence enough that the minister's actions cannot be "rightful" unless they are judged by the emphases of the _whole pattern_ of Christian faith--that is, unless these actions maintain the tensions.

The balance-of-tensions involved in the determination of the minister's _status_ can be characterized, I suggested, as formed by the tensions between _functional and symbolic_ and between _theoretical and relational_ criteria. A symbolic-theoretical image is that of the ministry as _order_; the ministry as _office_ is an image intended to meet all four criteria, but in practice it becomes marked by certain criteria to the detriment of others. The ministry as _inner calling_ is a symbolic-relational status; the ministry as _organizational leadership position_ is functional-relational; and the ministry as a _trained specialization_ is a functional-theoretical status. But two things mediate against "setting the minister apart" in a fixed status: one is the ministry of the whole membership of the Church, wherein the clergyman _cannot_ be given superior status; and the other is the danger of making the clergyman a symbol (L), a friend (I), a bureaucrat (G), or a technician (A) alone, instead of a responsible actor. The minister's standpoint is not a fixed position but the fluid region at the intersection of the tensions of the action field, from which he can act as situations require.

The minister in his _roles_ seems to be expected to be all things to all men: a symbolic representative of the faith, a loving pastor, an efficient organization man, and a trained resource person aware of what is going on in the world. Ministers answering the Danforth Survey seem to prefer working with *ideas* and *individuals*, and to confine their activities to the internal life of the church community: they see themselves as pattern-maintainers, integrators, and adapters, in that order, with very little liking for the active goal-attainment roles. But in Chapter VI, I argued that the historical development of the Protestant ministry has reached a point where all of the pulls of the action field are built into the minister's role action-field, not just one or two such pulls. This means that the minister can work with ideas and actions, feelings and techniques, church community and situational demands. The "general practitioner" minister in the church can operate without a fixed job-description, if he realizes the kinds of actions that are necessary to keep the tensions operating in the life of his church, and if he is freed from the idea that he has to do all the "ministering" himself--he might be, I have suggested, the "specialist in linking" the work of Christians in the church toward meeting the four pulls of pattern-maintenance, integration, adaptation, and goal-attainment. For the ministry as a whole, this completion of the action field of ministry allows for many varieties of specialists, but demands that they work together in continuing communication--for each will lack what others supply, and only together are they a total ministry.

A good deal of the trouble ministers have with *sanctions*--both as resources for action and as others' control over their action--stems from their separation of ideals from action, love from power, and the demands of the Christian gospel from the demands of the organizational requirements of the church. As we saw in Chapter VII, ministers lament the control the "organization" exerts over them--but they are not usually willing to use organizational power as a resource for social action. They feel pressed to conform to the wishes of their congregations--and they do not use their congregations' solid relationships to create a group ministry. They have authority to evaluate men's actions in the light of the Christian faith--and they dissipate this faith in generalities. They are members of an occupational group with a strong public image--and they engage in competition instead of presenting a united front. The balance-of-tensions holds in a special form in the matter of sanctions available to ministers: what they will not use as a resource for effective action becomes a control exerted over them by others.

In summary, the Protestant minister's authority stems from the relationship to God he shares with the whole Christian community: but for the minister or the community to use God as a power-guarantee through doctrines such as those of an infallible Church, Scriptures, inner experience, or doctrine is to live by magic and not by faith. The Protestant minister's authority is assigned him within a Church, not for the sake of the members of that Church alone, but in order that the whole Church may itself minister to others. His authority is both symbolic and functional, both theoretical and relational: and he must combine these criteria or use them as checks on each other as situations demand. He may specialize in pattern-maintenance, integration, goal-attainment, or adaptation; but he cannot do this unless others are specializing in meeting the three other demands, and unless all conduct their work as one ministry.

All of this sounds like ideology rather than analysis, but I mean it to be descriptive of what are in fact the consequences of doing away with the tensions built into the Christian faith-pattern. The material I have used from the answers of ministers on the Danforth survey, from case studies of ministers' actions, and from church history seems to me to illustrate a certain normative ordering of the demands upon ministers in the four directions of the action field theory, whether or not these particular terms are used. When the tensions of this ordering are dissipated by too much weight given to any one set of demands, there are to be expected reactions toward other sides of the balance of tensions of the action field.

I have used the action field theory for post hoc interpretations of events and of survey material from an instrument which was not constructed to test the theory. The validity of the theory would have to be further tested by using it for the prediction of impending developments in certain situations and for the prediction of patterns of responses on instruments constructed according to the theory before it could be said that the "action field" points to "things as they really are" in human relations.

b) Authority in the professions: a changing balance of tensions--. It would be interesting to follow up the conjecture that the priesthood set the model for the later-developing professions: such characteristics as a set apart status, a command of esoteric practices, a service motivation, specialized training, licensing, colleague control, a trust-relationship with "clients," autonomy, and monopoly of practice were all part of the priestly pattern, and they have been carried over into the ideology of professions in general.

The human-relations professions such as law, teaching, and medicine have also been associated with the "sacred" or awesome--medicine with birth, health and sickness, death; law with the weight of public custom; and teaching with accumulated cultural wisdom. As the legitimation of ministers' actions is by reference to the Christian belief in God, so the actions of the human-relations professionals have been primarily legitimated by reference to the "transcendent" area of culture with which they are entrusted.

The action field of the "learned professions" as it came to be structured in the professional ideology had its pattern-maintenance grounding in a major area of the common culture, with the professional theory encompassing the set of norms by which this cultural area was to be understood and dealt with. There were complementary norms for the other three action field directions. Norms of integration included a dedication to service and a relationship of trust between client and practitioner, together with various formal and informal ethical standards. The set of adaptive norms dealt with the requirements for training, technical standards of practice, licensing, and entrance into the profession. Goal-attainment norms included the definition of the profession as a practical art and the expectations that professionals would not desert their posts in times of danger, nor would they allow conflicts of interest to interfere with meeting clients' needs.

The professional association was supposed to keep the tensions of the action field balanced by upholding standards of ethics and technique, maintaining professional autonomy, striving for monopoly over practice, and regulating relationships between practitioners. The essence of the professional's authority could be summed up by saying that he was regarded as being a trained person who could do for a client what the client could not do for himself.[1]

But this authority also involved cultural responsibility and close relationships with persons. Inasmuch as professional theory was largely a matter of traditional wisdom handed down from practitioner to apprentice; the practitioner's chief "resources" were those he carried in his head and hands; and the relationship of practitioner and client was that of private practice, the learned professions up to about a century ago could be said to have been characterized most strongly by a combination of pattern-maintenance and integrative emphases. The nineteenth-century American lawyer, for example,

---

[1] See Hughes, "Psychology: Science and/or Profession," Men and Their Work, pp. 140-141.

> was an agent of the law, handling the general interests of society, as fixed and allowed in the law; his day's tasks were as varied as human activity and experience itself. An opinion leader, a man whose recommendations to the community counted, who handled obligations and rights of intimate family and life problems, the liberty and property of all who had them, the lawyer personally pointed out the course of the law and counseled his client against the pitfalls of illegality. Deferred to by his client, he carefully displayed the dignity he claimed to embody. Rewarded for apparent honesty, carrying an ethical halo, held to be fit material for high statesmanship, the lawyer upheld public service and was professionally above business motives.[1]

The professor in the colonial American college also dealt with pattern-maintenance and integration functions, for this college

> upheld the tradition of a prescribed liberal-arts curriculum, based upon a primarily classical preparatory course; it was more deeply concerned with the forming of character than the fostering of research; it placed great value on a residential pattern of life for students (what Cotton Mather called the "collegiate way of living"); and it was concerned primarily with training a special elite for community leadership. To these fundamental policies it held steadfastly and without important change for nearly 200 years.[2]

Medical practice also, up to the turn of the century, was "almost entirely a matter of direct contact with the patient and of direct, usually unshared responsibility for his care."[3]

---

[1] C. Wright Mills, White Collar: The American Middle Classes (New York: Oxford University Press, 1951), p. 121.

[2] John S. Brubacher and Willis Rudy, Higher Education in Transition: An American History: 1636-1956 (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1958), p. 25.

[3] Joseph Garland and Joseph Stokes, III, eds., The Choice of a Medical Career: Essays on the Fields of Medicine (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1961), p. vii.

This close integrative relationship with the patient is a strong point in medical ideology:

> It is this close and intimate relationship between doctor and patient that determines so much in the outlook of the medical man that the layman often fails to comprehend.[1]
>
> When a doctor enters the sick room of a man or woman gravely ill, the patient momentarily endows him with almost divine powers, or at least with the attributes of an all-powerful parent. . . . It is this peculiar relationship of the sick person to the healer which exposes the doctor to the sin of self-glorification, to the temptation to believe he is something a bit more than other men are. The sick person cannot tolerate doubt. He demands certainty and cure. He asks for magic.[2]

Trained in the traditional cultural basis of his profession and working in a close personal relationship with his clients, the "learned professional" practiced what could best be called an _art_, for a great deal of the success of his practice depended upon his personal abilities and style.

But these three professions and many others have been radically changed by developments which force them to give much more weight to the _adaptive_ and _goal-attainment_ pulls of their action fields. Three such developments, all interlinked, are the development of scientific theories for practice, increasing professional practice in large organizations, and proliferating specializations within the professions.

Lawyers now are likely to have corporations for clients rather than individuals; many specialize in distinct sections of the business system and particular problems of the law, "pushing the interests of these sections rather than standing outside the business system and serving a law which coordinates the parts of a society."[1] "The big money in law goes to some three or four hundred metropolitan law factories specializing in corporation law and constituting the brains of the corporate system."[2] Young lawyers working under the partners in these corporations often do much of the specialized work; and "much of the work is impersonal, vitiating the professional precept that lawyer and client should maintain a personal relationship."[3]

---

[1] Hugh A. Clegg, "Professional Ethics," in Maurice Davidson, ed., _Medical Ethics: A Guide to Students and Practitioners_ (London: Lloyd-Luke Medical Books Ltd., 1957), p. 35.

[2] _Ibid_., pp. 35-36.

The radical changes in American higher education came about largely through the joining of the German university's emphasis on _research_ with the American _land-grant state university_ movement in the late nineteenth century.[4] Now the professor was called upon to produce _new_ knowledge and _practical_ knowledge, in addition to transmitting the cultural heritage and developing students' characters. Robert Knapp observes that professors in America have had three historic functions: the research function, the informational function, and the character-developing function. It is his thesis that

---

[1] Mills, _White Collar_, p. 122.

[2] _Ibid_., p. 124.

[3] _Ibid_., p. 125. Here Mills seems a bit seduced by the ideology of the professions; in what occupations _are_ there close relationships with clients today? The specialization and proliferation of lawyers comes from the proliferation of laws, "which are, in turn, an accompaniment of enhanced division of labor" (Don Calhoun, _et al_., _An Introduction to Social Science: Personality, Work, Community_ [3rd ed.; Chicago: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1961], Book Two, p. 18).

[4] See Brubacher and Rudy, Chapters 8 and 9, pp. 139-195.

> the evolving role of the college professor in America has been characterized by a progressive decline of his character-developing function along with a strong tendency for the research and informational functions to part company and form two separate callings.[1]

I would interpret the emphasis upon research as an adaptive development in the academic profession. More and more, there are calls for the academicians also to take a hand in the goal-attainment functions of society:

> The university is no longer merely a reservoir of learning, the outpost of scientific advance, or a training station for future leaders. It must be an active catalytic agent in the solution of basic human problems.[2]

The doctor's profession has also changed through the development of new scientific theory, practice in institutions, and proliferation of specializations. The hospital now is the center of medical care; the doctor going with his bag on rounds of home visits is a rarity.

> The patients now come to the equipment and the physician. This, in turn, has brought drastic changes in the physician's relations to his colleagues, his patients, and also makes it necessary for him to deal with many new kinds of medical workers; the contingencies of his career

---

[1] Robert Knapp, "Changing Functions of the College Professor," in Nevitt Sanford, ed., The American College: A Psychological and Social Interpretation of the Higher Learning (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1962), p. 292. See also Logan Wilson, The Academic Man: A Study in the Sociology of a Profession (London: Oxford University Press, 1942), Chapters X and XI, for an analysis of the teaching and research functions as they relate to the professor's prestige.

[2] Oliver C. Carmichael, The Changing Role of Higher Education (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1949), p. 101. See also Clark Kerr, The Uses of the University (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963).

> are now, in large part, those of his relations to institutions.[1]

Medical theory now has "gone molar"--that is, the scientific theory of disease starts with what is happening within cell-components of the human body. Physicians now expect and accept discoveries that will compel them to alter their methods of practice.[2] They are also acutely aware of the technical/adaptive-personal/integrative split in their roles:

> Poised as it is between the need to apply the physical sciences and the need to understand and heal the person, contemporary medicine is affected by the breach between the two cultures more acutely than any other human endeavor. To fulfill its potentials, it requires an idea of man which will more satisfactorily meet the requirements of both the scientific mode of thought and the needs of the person.[3]

What appears to be happening in all of these professions is that the professionals' authority is increasingly that of _technical experts_. The learned human-relations professions, like the ministry, are becoming "secularized" in that their authority is no longer that of representatives of a major part of _culture_. They are seen more as men who can do specific jobs. Likewise, they no longer have the same sort of authority of _community-membership_ that the professional ideology so prizes--the close trusting relationship between client and practitioner. "Private practice" with individual clients is less and less the rule. But the continuing awareness among these professionals that they are in the service of cultural values and of persons can mean that their increased theoretical and technical expertise and their specificity of functions become added resources for disciplined action--so long as the tensions of their action fields are not destroyed by emphasis only upon adaptation and goal-attainment.

---

[1] Hughes, "Professions in Transition," _Men and Their Work_, p. 131.

[2] W. Barry Wood, Jr., "The Medical Sciences," in Garland and Stokes, _The Choice of a Medical Career_, pp. 214-215.

[3] Edmund D. Pellegrino, "Medicine, History, and the Idea of Man," _The Annals of The American Academy of Political and Social Science_, CCCXLVI, March, 1963 (_Medicine and Society_), p. 18.

2. The Ministry Seen Through the Professional Image

a) "Marks of a Profession" in the Protestant ministry--.

On what basis is it proper to raise the issue of the Protestant ministry as a profession?[1] I believe the ministry manifests enough of the "marks of a profession" to at least make the question reasonable.

First, the ministry has been known publicly as one of the "learned professions" since professions were first called by this name. Second, in the major Protestant churches the ministry is a full-time occupation to which men make lifetime commitments. Third, Protestant ministers share a public image as an occupational group. Fourth, they are assigned certain specific functions, and other not-so-specific ones, in the society. Fifth, they work in a major area of the culture: religion. Sixth, they are licensed (ordained). Seventh, they are expected to undergo special training in professional schools.

---

[1] In this discussion of the ministry as it appears when seen through the professional image, I shall be speaking of the ministry in those churches in which it is accepted as a good thing that the ministers be specially trained. This means that I am not speaking of the total ministry of the Church, for there are churches in which there are no "set apart" clergy and others in which the clergy receive no special training. In no way do I mean to imply that trained clergymen are necessary for the Church to be the Church. I am, rather, saying that if churches set apart clergymen and train them, then it is important to ask in what way they should be "set apart" and what kind of training is appropriate for them. In speaking below of "the ministry" I refer primarily to the ordained parish minister; I shall speak of specialized ministries at a later point.

Protestant ministers also manifest some of the ideological or philosophical marks of professions: a collectivity or service orientation, a trust-relationship with certain persons whom they serve, monopoly over certain practices (such as administering the Sacraments, in some churches), colleague-control, and an idea that they do not work primarily for financial rewards.

The sense in which ministers share the functional marks of professions such as a generalized theory, trained skills, and technical/ethical standards is a matter which I shall explore further on, in the discussion of the unique characteristics of the ministry.

There are several developments in the ministry which could be noted as evidence of a trend toward "professionalization": among them are increasing requirements for training, proliferating ministerial specializations, increasing occupational institutions such as retirement plans and the testing of candidates, and the development of new theoretical or practical bodies of knowledge for ministers to use. More often than before, also, churches employing ministers tend to evaluate them on their qualifications of training and abilities rather than on their doctrinal orthodoxy. How many of these developments are sponsored by the clergy themselves and how many by laymen is an open question; certainly the clergy are involved to a great degree, and this is another mark of professionalization, that the practitioners set the policy for their work and their dealings with the public.

b) The location of the ministry in the professional spectrum--. What kind of profession is the Protestant ministry? Of course, it is unique--every profession is--but it is helpful to see how it may be classed in certain respects with some professions and not with others.

i) People--. The minister may be classed among professionals who work directly with persons rather than among those who work primarily with materials or whose contacts with people are indirect or at-a-distance. In this respect he is like the lawyer, doctor, teacher, or social worker--and less like the engineer, architect, artist, and musician (though in his pulpit he does perform a function somewhat similar to that of actors, who provide services-at-a-distance).

ii) Ideas and symbols--. The minister works primarily through ideas rather than with instruments, and with people's minds rather than their bodies. He is among the "communicators" such as teachers, journalists, and writers in this respect, and unlike physicians or barbers.

iii) Cultural rather than technical ideas--. The minister is among those professionals who deal with ideas meant for the general public rather than among those dealing with a specialized technical theory. In this he is like the television commentator rather than the cryptographer.

iv) Practice based on community theory--. The minister, the lawyer, and teachers of social studies have this in common, that their professional practice is based in part on a specialized knowledge of commonly-possessed ideas, beliefs, or principles. In theory, any Christian could make his own interpretation of the faith, just as any citizen could learn the law for himself if he chose to.

v) Organizational practice--. Unless he is a traveling evangelist, the minister practices in a structured organization, the church. He shares this characteristic with many professionals.

vi) Practice in organizations where "clients" are taken in as members--. Like the professor, the minister works in an organization which "socializes" its clients by making them members of the same collectivity as the professional. The psychiatrist/patient relationship could also be called such a collectivity. What these all have in common is that the relationship of professional and client is sustained over a period of time.

vii) Group leadership role--. Like the military officer, the minister is the leader of a group of people (to what degree this is so depends upon church polities).

viii) Salaried--. The minister is among the majority group of professionals in that he works for a salary. He also, like social workers, is supposed to receive this salary in order that he may render service; he is not supposed to be working primarily for financial rewards. One mark of this "support" norm in the church is that the minister is among the very few professionals who are provided with housing.

ix) Exercising moral judgment--. Whereas the general ideology of professions specifies that professionals must be "objective," the minister is supposed to exercise moral judgments over people. Perhaps the only other professional in our society into whose role this norm is built is the judge.

x) Isolated socialization--. "Three professions--the clergy, the military, and medicine--almost isolate their recruits from important lay contacts for several years, furnish new ego ideals and reference groups, impress upon the recruit his absolute social dependence upon the profession for his further advancement, and punish him for inappropriate attitudes or behavior."[1]

xi) In the public vision--. "The minister must 'go to press' every Sunday. That is to say, similar to the newspaper editor and distinct from many others, he must make regular appearances before his public."[2]

These comparisons show that several of the characteristics of the ministry overlap partially with those of other professions. The ministry overlaps completely with no one other profession, so that even according to these structural-functional criteria it may be distinguished as a separate profession. But what characteristics are unique to the ministry, shared with no other profession?

---

[1] Goode, "Community Within a Community: The Professions," American Sociological Review, XXII, 2 (April, 1957), p. 196.

[2] Campbell and Pettigrew, Christians in Racial Crisis, p. 118.

c) Unique marks of the ministry as a profession--. The characteristics of the minister which make that work unique and like that of no other professional all grow out of the fact that the minister acts as a member of a community, the Church, whose life-together is constituted by its faith in God. This means that there are differences between the theory, practices, and status of the minister and those of other professionals.

I have noted that the minister shares with the lawyer and certain other professionals the characteristic that his special practice is based on knowledge shared with a community. But the shared theory of the Christian community is faith-knowledge, or what Christians have called "revelation."

> When we speak of revelation in the Christian church we refer to our history, to the history of selves or to history as it is lived and apprehended from within.[1]

The rationality of the theory by which the minister practices is more like the rationality of poetry or drama than like that of bridge-building or surgery. It is more like a story than a science.

---

[1] H. Richard Niebuhr, The Meaning of Revelation (paperback ed.; New York: The Macmillan Company, 1960), p. 60. Niebuhr does not let himself be drawn into the trap of subjectivism by his distinction between "inner history" and "outer history."

> [When we speak of ideologies or of religious ideas] we are dealing with a case where the cognitive interest does not have the degree of segregation from other elements of the action system which is possible in the cases of investigation and instrumental application of knowledge in specialized roles and with respect to specific goals.[1]

To rely upon absolute doctrine is to choose one extreme of the balance-of-tensions of the Christian pattern, and to rely solely on individual inner experience is to choose another. Nevertheless, any understanding the Christian has must involve the self. Niebuhr points out that both reason and imagination are necessary alike in our knowledge of the world and in our interpretation of faith (our "inner history"): but in the latter case the reasons involved are "reasons of the heart" rather than "reasons of the head."[2] This is not to say that faith-knowledge is irrational, or that it gives a false interpretation of reality. It is simply to point to the fact that, however objective the reality the Christian knows, that knowledge is impossible without the involvement of his whole self.

This has consequences for the minister's professional preparation. All professional schools teach basic theory, provide practice in skills, and shape the person for his professional role. But in the minister's preparation this self-shaping is the most important factor:

> It may be that there are other schools where competence in a given profession can be intellectualized, but it is scarcely true of the theological school at its best. Here the communication is not merely a matter of information or of skill, but the development of a religious personality,

---

[1] Parsons, The Social System, pp. 352-353.

[2] Niebuhr, The Meaning of Revelation, pp. 94-99.

> whose competence will be determined as much by the maturity of his selfhood as by what he knows.[1]

As the minister's "theory" is not the possession of his profession but of his community; as it is not separable into a "cognitive" realm; and as it is self-involving, so also it does not specify the particular practice-skills which the minister must develop. Ministers study "practical" courses such as homiletics and Christian education, but no claim is made in such courses that the Christian faith demands that just these activities should be done in just such ways. Nor are the "basic content" courses such as theology, church history, and Bible themselves anything more than "language about" faith rather than "language of" faith:

> Being a Christian is to admit to a distinctive quality and way of intending the world. . . . The Christian faith is "how" we believe in God and "how" we take life as a consequence. The seminarian who has learned all that can be taught about these matters in an objective manner still has the hardest thing to learn.[2]

The actions a minister takes must be shaped not only by his trained knowledge and skills, but by his faith-commitment in the midst of the situations he encounters.

d) The minister's lack of professional authority--.

> Any occupation wishing to exercise professional authority must find a technical basis for it, assert an exclusive jurisdiction, link both skill and jurisdiction to

---

[1] Samuel Miller, "Pastoral Experience and Theological Training: The Implications of Depth Psychology for Christian Theology," in Hofmann, ed., Making the Ministry Relevant, pp. 62-63.

[2] Paul Holmer, "Can We Educate Ministers Scientifically?", in Bridston and Culver, eds., The Making of Ministers, pp. 10, 16-17.

> standards of training, and convince the public that its services are uniquely trustworthy.[1]

If these are the unique marks of "professional authority," then the Protestant minister does not exercise professional authority. The basis of his actions is not technical but self-involving; neither the Christian faith ("theory") nor the work of ministry belong to clergymen alone; and it is not because the minister is trained that others accept his direction:

> The authority of the minister as representative of the community of learning is incidental and not essential to the office. That he ought to be well educated is one thing, but that he ought to have the authority of learning is something else.[2]

Which is to say, the Protestant minister cannot claim a right to control others' actions because of his special knowledge. He may have received professional training, and he may engage in professional actions--but he cannot demand professional monopoly. He receives from his training no absolute guarantees of his authority.

Then, if the minister is not guaranteed professional authority, does it make sense to speak of him as a professional? Yes; it makes sense in the same way as it makes sense to speak of him as proclaiming the Word of the Lord even though he has no divine guarantees for his position, or as it makes sense to speak of him as exercising organizational leadership though his leadership of a voluntary association is not backed up by coercive power as it could be in a state church. In the section to follow I want to make the case that the minister's authority is guaranteed by no absolutes of any sort, but is a matter of responsibility and of a style of action. This will clear the way for a discussion of what it could mean to speak of the ministry as a profession in addition to (not necessarily in preference to) other images by which it could be characterized.

---

[1] Wilensky, "The Professionalization of Everyone?", The American Journal of Sociology, LXX, 2 (September, 1964), p. 138.

[2] Niebuhr, The Purpose of the Church and Its Ministry, p. 68.

B. Imaging the Ministry as Profession

1. Re-thinking the Meaning of Authority

Men are given or assume responsibility for directing others' action for various reasons: in order to maintain a life-view, to accomplish tasks, to keep order in a society, to draw together and unite the actions of many people. The right to take such responsibility is assumed by authority-bearers and accepted by those whom they direct in view of their shared agreement on the importance of that by which authority is "legitimated." Protestant ministers' rights to leadership of fellow church members, for example, are linked with the Christian faith in God, the relationships within the Christian community, the necessities of the organizational structuring and acting of the church, and whatever specialized training or experience the ministers have had. From each of these considerations come norms (working agreements) for the shaping of ministers' actions in relationships with others. With reference to the "action field" of the ministry as I developed it in Part Two, the four bases of legitimacy for ministerial authority (faith-understandings, community, organization, and training) can be thought of as expressing norms of pattern-maintenance, integration, goal-attainment, and adaptation, respectively.

But it is also true that when rights and responsibilities are ordered by norms in this way, men tend to exalt the norms into absolutes in order that authority may be guaranteed by arguments from "the nature of reality" or by coercive power. Thus ministers have sought absolute guarantees of their positions by doctrines of apostolic succession, the priesthood as an order, infallible Scriptures, or a "special call" (all pattern-maintenance absolutes, guaranteeing ministers' authority as coming _directly from God_). Without necessarily formulating doctrines to back it up, they have relied upon their personal and unique ecstatic or mystical inner knowledge of God (integrative absolute). They have depended upon the power of the state to guarantee their positions and assure them of control (goal-attainment absolute). And now ministers may well be tempted to guarantee their rights by reference to the prevailing view that the trained _expert_ is the person to handle important situations (adaptation absolute).

I suggest that for the Protestant minister to attempt to guarantee his authority by absolutes in any of these ways is for him to be false to his responsibilities and his faith. The judgment that it is false to his responsibilities, I make on the basis of the action field theory as I developed it and applied it in Part Two, where I pointed out that certain tensions are built into the minister's life-view, his status, his roles, and his situation. The patterns of orientation shown on the Danforth survey by ministers who destroy the tensions by choosing only certain poles of them, and the ineffectiveness of the actions of ministers in situations calling for social action (in which they failed to work with the demands upon them as resources, but instead received them as limitations) seem to me to be evidence that ministers who rely upon norms from any one direction of their action field as the source of their authority thereby place themselves in static positions from whence they are not able to take the responsible action required at the intersection of their faith and their changing situations.

The judgment that relying upon absolute guarantees of authority is false to the Protestant minister's faith, I make on the basis of the Protestant understanding of faith as trust, response, and self-commitment rather than as assent to revealed doctrines, or as a certain circumscribed set of beliefs.[1] For any Christian to demand guarantees from God, or to insist that God acts only through certain church structures, is to practice magic, not faith.[2]

---

[1] "By faith Abraham obeyed the call to go out to a land destined for himself and his heirs, and left home without knowing where he was to go" (Heb. 11:8, New English Bible).

[2] "Jews call for miracles, Greeks look for wisdom; but we proclaim Christ--yes, Christ nailed to the cross; and though this is a stumbling-block to Jews and folly to Greeks,

What then is the minister's authority, if it is not guaranteed rights of control? I think that it may be seen in two ways: first, *functionally*, as an *assignment of responsibility* on behalf of the Church's mission to be a servant-people witnessing to God's gift of renewed life for men in the world and being themselves agents for making that new life a reality; and, second, *in action* as the *style* or *quality* of ministers' actions disciplined by faith, relationships, preparation, and sensitivity to what must be done in changing situations.

These two things, functional responsibility and disciplined style, are the most important norms of professional practice, and the key characteristics of professional "spirit." If we are to have an occupational group of ministers within the community which is itself a ministry, I think that this group has to be a profession in these two senses. The reason for "setting apart" such men is so they may exercise functional responsibility as enablers for the ministry of the whole body; and disciplined style should be the expectation the Church has of them and they have of themselves.

2. "Profession" as a Model for Ministry

When I propose the professional image as a significant model for the Protestant minister, I am not referring primarily to the structural-functional characteristics of professions

---

yet to those who have heard his call, Jews and Greeks alike, he is the power of God and the wisdom of God" (I Cor. L;22-24). This is a powerful statement from a Jew highly trained in Greek wisdom!

but to the philosophy which has been built into the normative image of the human-relations professions--i.e., to the balance-of-tensions of the professional pattern in which standards of theoretical knowledge are joined with standards of practice, and allegiance to the occupation is joined with concern for the values and persons served by the profession.[1] Of course this normative pattern is an ideology, and few professionals live up to their ideal standards. But the normative pattern remains alive as a check upon tendencies toward professional aberrations such as formalism, exclusivism, narrow technicality, mystery, and magic, in just the same way as the normative ideals of public documents such as the United States Constitution and Declaration of Independence remain alive as checks upon public practice. When professionals have truly been shaped by such a pattern of norms, their work manifests what I have called professional style.

One way in which such a model might be of benefit to ministers and their fellow Christians is that it could be seen as pulling together and holding in tension the several different and separate images of the minister. Ministers have been characterized as "men of God," with their authority derived from doctrinal norms; they have been known as pastors and helpers; they are seen as organizational leaders; and they are supposed to be trained in special skills. Ministers and those with whom they work have trouble reconciling these images;[1] what the conception of their work as a professional pattern might do for ministers is to help them see doctrine and practice, relations and resources through each other instead of letting any one of these determine all the rest.

---

[1] This pattern is presented in Chapter I, above, pp. 23-29.

The image which ministers cannot appropriate is the popular image of a professional as a "paid independent expert" who offers special technical services to clients.[2] This image is fostered by the assumption that the members of the local church or the denomination are the "clients" of trained clergymen--and it seems to be the image against which ministers protest when they say that they are not "professionals." Rather than this, to extend the metaphor, it could be said that the whole of mankind is the "client" whom the whole Church is "employed" by God to serve. Where there is lacking this consciousness of the calling of the whole membership of the Church to ministry, the work of trained clergymen is no longer that of enablers of the total ministry:

> The ministry of the church in and for the world has thus been transmuted into a private preoccupation with the emotional problems of those whose social position warrants their being in the nice kind of neighborhood that can pay

---

[1] Blizzard points out how ministers have two different sets of standards for their normative images of themselves and their working norms. ("The Minister's Self-Knowledge and Functional Effectiveness," in Wayne E. Oates, ed., The Minister's Own Mental Health [Great Neck, N.Y.: Channel Press, Inc., 1961], pp. 109-122.)

[2] Granted, many churches do have this image of ministers; and ministers in competition with each other as "private practitioners" often operate in this way.

> a professional friend.[1]

Gibson Winter even goes so far as to say that because religious institutions are so irrelevant to such major social issues as poverty, racial struggle, and world peace,

> Theological education can no longer direct itself to professional training, since there are no viable institutions to make a profession meaningful or even desirable at this point in Christian history.[2]

Surely the theological schools themselves are at least partially responsible for this condition, since it is their students who have succumbed to the institutions instead of making them relevant! Winter does offer a solution, that theological schools should offer theological preparation to shop stewards, foremen, office supervisors and those in hundreds of other specialized roles who exercise "the pastoral ministries of our new world."[3]

One argument that could be offered for having in the Church ministers trained in the technical disciplines of Biblical criticism, psychology, and systematic theology is that this provides for an objective and relative way of dealing with what to laymen are ideological beliefs:

> Many occupations cannot be carried out without guilty knowledge. . . . Only a master theologian can think up dangerously subtle heresies; hence is Satan of necessity a fallen angel. Few laymen have the sophistication to think up either original or very seductive heresies. . . . Every

---

[1] Gibson Winter, "Theological Schools: Partners in the Conversation," in Bridston and Culver, eds., The Making of Ministers, p. 162.

[2] Ibid., p. 164.

[3] Ibid., p. 168.

> occupation must look in a relative way at some order of events, objects, and ideas. . . . This technical--therefore relative--attitude will have to be adopted toward the very people one serves; no profession can do its work without license to talk in shocking terms about its clients and their problems.[1]

What Hughes notes about the medical role seems also to be true for theological students, if the high incidence of crises of doubt among them is any indication:

> One might say that the learning of the medical role consists of a separation, almost an alienation, of the student from the lay medical world; a passing through the mirror so that one looks out on the world from behind it, and sees things as in mirror writing. In all of the more esoteric occupations we have studied we find the sense of seeing the world in reverse.[2]

I wonder, however, whether this difference in attitude between professional and layman ought to be perpetuated in the Protestant church. It seems dishonest on the part of ministers not to have passed on to their people the fruits of their training in seminary so that laymen also might live by a faith open to honest examination. What seems to be happening instead is that many seminary students are planning on going into teaching instead of the churches.[3]

There is a functional advantage in having a ministerial occupation in the Church in this regard: ministers in their theological school socialization are exposed to the wide spectrum of Christian beliefs and practices and to the long history of the Church. This can mean that their primary identification is with this world-wide, time-long Church rather than with a particular denomination or local congregation. They can become "universalists" within their congregations, representing the aims of the wider Christian community as they also deal with the particular needs of one group of church members. The same phenomenon is present among university professors who identify with their disciplines rather than with their departments or universities.[1] There is a necessary universalism-particularism tension operating here, however; ministers lose effectiveness if they become _only_ universalists or _only_ particularists. It is also a matter of concern when the links between the members of the world Church take place only through church professionals rather than in a variety of ways.

---

[1] Hughes, Men and Their Work, pp. 80, 81-82.

[2] Ibid., p. 117.

[3] "Only slightly more than one-third of all seminarians in the United States and Canada plan to serve in the parish ministry 'eventually'" (Bridston and Culver, Pre-Seminary Education, p. 102).

The Protestant understanding of the priesthood of all believers has often been taken to mean "every man his own priest." But it also should mean that every member of the community of faith is a priest to his brother, empowered by their common faith and baptism to speak words of comfort or judgment, offer help, and suggest action. _Theologically_, this means that the professional minister has no status different from that of other Christians. On what grounds then is it useful for him to be assigned _functionally_ differing status? I would suggest that the minister working with a gathered community of Christians (not just a parish church, but any form of gathered community) functions as a "man-in-the-middle." He is not the mediator between God and man,[1] but the "transmitter" or "link-builder" between members, between faith-understandings and members, between needs and actions. His chief function is to be an "enabler," in any of the many forms this may take. It would be a mistake to confine his role-definition to any one set of specifications: he may do the things expected of clergymen in our culture at present, but beyond this he should be free to shape his actions by symbolic or technical, theoretical or relational, external or internal criteria as situations demand and his own abilities allow. In all of this he will understand that he is one member of a group ministry, whether his functions for that group are mainly as resource person, expressive integrator, task-leader, or value-maintainer; and he will recognize that all of these functions need to be done by someone, not necessarily himself.

---

[1] On the differences in "home guard" and "itinerant" careers among college and university professors, see David Riesman, _Constraint and Variety in American Education_ (Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 1956).

In Protestant churches, the "group-enabler" minister would need to be a "general practitioner" equipped to exercise discretion in a certain range of situations where there may be no set guidelines.[2] But there is no more reason to assume that all ministers should do the same things than there is to assume that all men called "doctor" function alike. There can and should be many varieties of specialties in the "professional ministry": some shaped by work-situations, some by special tasks to be accomplished, some by special training, some by the needs of particular groups of people. The common image of their roles linking these specialists would not be the traditional image of the minister as "representative," for this image is more appropriate to ministers working in sustained relationships with a group of people, and not all specialists would work in this way. Probably the "enabler" image --a _functional_ equivalent of "minister" or "servant"--could be given an attitude-and-orientation content such that it would be meaningful for all. One other requirement for such specialized ministries would be that those practicing them would need to be sustained by membership in some gathered form of the faith-community, though they might "practice" alone--this requirement seems to me to be dictated by the nature of the Christian faith as the life-story of a _people_ as well as the

---

[1] That is, this is not his special function. Any man may speak of or for God to another, or any man may stand in the presence of God without a "mediator." In saying this, I recognize the danger of an overemphasis on individualism; the other side of the statement would have to be that no man stands in the presence of God without at the same time standing in the presence of all humanity.

[2] "The discretion as used is . . . tied to the opinions, values, and beliefs shared by members of the organization, as well as to the tasks to be performed. . . . But what consti-

---

tutes 'responsible discretion'? Essentially it is discretion which is exercised with due regard to all the considerations that enter into the situation. This will usually mean that the person exercising such discretion is duly qualified. He will seem to act responsibly when he acts in accordance with the full knowledge of the particular science, art, craft, or operation involved in the situation calling for discretion. That is why the selection of personnel appears as the core of the problem of how to arrange for the exercise of discretion. . . . And that is why administrative responsibility turns to such a large extent upon evaluation of the performance in terms of objective standards prevalent in a particular field of work and the sense of workmanship connected with it" (Friedrich, "Authority, Reason, and Discretion," in Friedrich, ed., _Authority_, pp. 42, 44).

life-orientation of individuals.

There is a paradoxical way in which it is both useful and dangerous to speak of the ministry as an occupation. It is useful to speak of it as an occupation in contrast to its being thought of as a holy position, for then the professional minister is set free from having to see himself primarily as an example or a representative of God in ways other Christians are not. But it is dangerous to speak of it as an occupation if we thereby imply that it can be judged by technical standards alone, or that the minister is in the "religion business." The work of ministry is the work of the whole Christian community, and this work will be shaped by the Christian way of intending the world as well as by the people and situations Christians meet. With this understanding, the work of professional ministers will be judged according to whether it enables the total work of ministry. No clergyman is fulfilling his responsibilities if he judges his success by what goes on within the walls of his building-with-a-steeple or among the members of his organization; the fruits of his work must be seen in newness of life breaking into all of the structures of the world.

This means that the clergyman lives always in the tension between the discipline of his profession and his desires to maintain his own position. A profession is an association of men who are supposed to be disciplined by the standards of a theory--a way of comprehending the world--and by their responsibility for service to persons. If the theory and the dedication to persons' needs conflict with established professional privileges, the professional who embodies the spirit of his calling will say that professional privileges are not the most important thing. It is to be hoped that ministers will be more ready to change the organizational church than the A.M.A. was to support the public subsidy of medical care for the aged!

There seems to be a complete difference between the use of the term "profession" to mean "a body of technical experts" and the original meaning of "profession" as taking the vows of a religious order. But the two meanings are linked by the understanding of _discipline_ as the commitment of the self to shaping for service. The "mark of a professional" in any field requiring rigorous self-shaping is his _style_ or _spirit_, the way in which his actions are appropriate to what is demanded of him and yet are governed by his theory, his way of intending the world.

I think that we have been prevented by our false separation of the sacred and secular[1] from seeing that perhaps this technical disciplining of the self for action is today our best example of what it means to follow a "call" or a vocation. I do not refer to the acquisition of skills alone, but to the sense of being grasped by a field which demands the investment of the whole self and makes that self available to the world in a special way. Of course the technical can be inhuman and narrow; but it is also one of the pathways along which renewed possibilities of life are entering our world. Perhaps Christian ministers, whose authority does not depend on techniques, can, at the same time as they maintain that man is not a technician alone, recognize in fellow professionals the same Spirit which flows through their own work. In the end, it is not the possession of a technique which makes a professional; it is being possessed by the discipline which joins together world-view, technique, and action for the creating of newness in the life of men.

---

[1] See Dietrich Bonhoeffer, _Ethics_, ed. Eberhard Bethge, trans. Neville Horton Smith (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1962), especially pp. 20-23, 62-67; Bonhoeffer, _Letters and Papers from Prison_, ed. Eberhard Bethge (paperback; London: Fontana Books, S.C.M. Press, 1953), pp. 91, 124; and Ronald Gregor Smith, _The New Man: Christianity and Man's Coming of Age_ (London: S.C.M. Press, Ltd., 1956), p. 45.

C. Implications for Ministerial Practice and Preparation

I have already included in the text of this chapter and of previous chapters most of the implications for ministers' practice which I would draw from this study of the ministry as a profession. These implications may be summed up in a few points:

a) The action field within which "general practitioner" ministers work demands response-ability shaped by faith-understandings, relationships within the church community, organizational and social structures, and a changing world-context which both offers resources and makes demands for change in the Church's established ways of doing things. This means that the minister cannot see himself only as an interpreter of the word and a pastor, healer, and counselor of individuals;

he must also be able to work through social power and be aware of what is happening in his world. His actions will be determined, not by any one of the demands of his action-field alone, but by their combination; and if he is not captured in any static position in one or two corners of this field, he can be free to respond in ways that are true to his faith and appropriate to the circumstances facing him at any one time.

b) There can and should be many different forms of specialized ministries in the Church, not all of them carried out by ordained ministers working with groups of people. It is to be expected that there will be tensions and conflicts between these specialized ministries as each maintains his own point of view. This is a good thing, if thereby the tensions are kept alive in the action field of the ministry as a whole. One further point I would add is that, while these specialized ministries may be carried out by men working alone, the specialists need to have a consciousness that they are supported by a faith-community in which their work is part of the total ministry. This would probably mean that they would participate in some form of the gathered community of Christians, though I am not suggesting that the local parish church is the one proper form of such a gathered community.

c) The practices of ministers cannot be finally captured in one normative or ideal "role-definition" of "the minister." What holds the ministry together as a profession is their faith, their relationship to the total Church, and their very general image of themselves as "enablers" for the total ministry. These, together with the resources and requirements of a changing culture and society, ought to be enough to provide bases for working out role-definitions as they are required.

As for the implications of this study for the preparation of ministers, I shall not try to make specific and detailed recommendations but try rather to set the context for the carrying out of ministers' training in such a way that they can be shaped by the full tensions of their action fields.

As I view it through the "glasses" of the action field theory, seminary education at present seems dedicated to the continued production of pattern-maintainers and integrators, or in other words, to the training of ministers who will think of their normative role as that of dealing with ideas and individuals. The seminary curriculum is divided into two major parts: the "basic content" courses such as Bible, Church history, and systematic theology, and the "practical" courses such as homiletics, Christian education, and pastoral psychology. I would put all of these subjects under the headings of pattern-maintenance or integration.

What is lacking in the theological student's preparation is the exposure to the realities of organizational power (goal-attainment) and of the fluid and changing context of ideas and situations in society (adaptation). Because he is not exposed to these realities during the time of his socialization into a professional personality, when he enters practice he is either captured by the organization with its demands for practical success or he is forever torn by the split between his image of what he ought to be doing and the activities in which he spends a major part of his time and energy. Nor is he equipped to deal with change or even to work for it; he has been led to believe that he is a "spiritual" rather than a worldly man.

I have insisted that professional style is produced only when in the process of professional training theory and practice, skills and relationships, are all held together in a unity-of-tensions so that they serve as both checks and resources upon one another and at the same time are seen through one another in a single professional pattern. What this could mean for seminary education appears to me to be this: first, while Church history, Biblical studies, and philosophy are basic content courses, theology is not. Theology is one of the minister's technical disciplines, and it should be seen as an adaptive rather than a pattern-maintenance discipline. Which is to say, it should be seen as the activity of theologizing carried out at the points of interaction of the Christian life-understanding and changing situations in the world. If ministers continue to be assigned on behalf of the whole Church the responsibility for discerning the meaning of events, then in our day they will have to learn to do their theologizing on the firing line instead of in the study alone. This suggests that a major part of seminary education, including reflection and study, ought to be carried out in contexts other than the classroom--and other than the local church youth group; seminary students, along with those who guide them, need to mix action with their reflection in order that ministers may mix reflection with action.

Second, there needs to be available to seminary students during the course of their training some kind of group model of the Church-as-mission in which together with laymen the future professionals can wrestle with what it means to live by an image of the self as free to respond in any direction and make use of many different resources. What such a model would look like I cannot yet say; it is a good sign that some churches, seminaries, and specialized group ministries are experimenting with the possibilities.

Finally, the minister needs to accept the fact that what is true for practically all other professions is also true for him; he can expect changes in theory and situations so radical that he may be called upon to re-orient his whole pattern of doing things. This need not threaten him, for it will enable him to appropriate in action what he accepts in theory: that he lives by faith and not by certainty. Practically, the expectation of such change would mean that the minister, like other professionals, could never consider his education completed--and resources would need to be made available to him to maintain his professional competence and the style it produces.

D. Conclusion

> There remain . . . some basic obstacles to progress in the orderly study of religious leadership, notably the

> lack of a conceptual framework for the general study of the professions. Each profession stands in some relation to the others. All professions have certain attributes in common, but, at the same time, each retains certain distinctive characteristics; the ministry is perhaps the most unique of all. The problem, as always, is to know what are the important questions to ask and the significant comparisons to make.[1]

If this study has made some contribution toward the solution of this problem, it will have achieved its aim.

---

[1] Charles Y. Glock, "The Sociology of Religion," in Robert K. Merton, Leonard Bloom, and Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., Sociology Today: Problems and Prospects (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1959), pp. 164-165.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. General Works

Books

Adorno, T. W., Frenkel-Brunswik, Else, Levinson, David J., and Sanford, R. Nevitt. The Authoritarian Personality. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950.

Barber, Bernard. Social Stratification. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1957.

Bendix, Reinhard. Max Weber: An Intellectual Portrait. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1960.

_______, and Lipset, Seymour Martin (eds). Class, Status and Power: A Reader in Social Stratification. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1953.

Black, Max (ed.). The Social Theories of Talcott Parsons: A Critical Examination. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1961.

Broom, Leonard, and Selznick, Philip. Sociology. Evanston: Row, Peterson, 1958.

Caplow, Theodore. The Sociology of Work. Paperback edition. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1964. (First published in 1954 by the University of Minnesota Press.)

Gerth, H. H., and Mills, C. Wright (trans. and eds.). From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology. New York: Oxford University Press, 1946.

Ginzberg, Eli, and associates. Occupational Choice: An Approach to a General Theory. New York: Columbia University Press, 1951.

Gross, Edward. Work and Society. New York: The Crowell-Collier Publishing Company, 1958.

Hiller, E. T. Social Relations and Structures: A Study in Principles of Sociology. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947.

Hughes, Everett Cherrington. Men and Their Work. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1958.

Merton, Robert K. Social Theory and Social Structure. Revised and enlarged edition. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1957.

________, Bloom, Leonard, and Cottrell, Leonard S., Jr. Sociology Today: Problems and Prospects. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1959.

Mills, C. Wright. White Collar: The American Middle Classes. New York: Oxford University Press, 1951.

Nelson, John Oliver (ed.). Work and Vocation: A Christian Discussion. New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1954.

New English Bible, The, New Testament. Great Britain: Oxford University Press, Cambridge University Press, 1961.

Packard, Vance. The Status Seekers. New York: Pocket Books, Inc., 1961.

Parsons, Talcott. Essays in Sociological Theory. Revised edition, paperback. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, A Division of The Macmillan Company, The Crowell-Collier Publishing Company, 1964.

________. Social Structure and Personality. New York: The Free Press, A Division of The Macmillan Company, The Crowell-Collier Publishing Company, 1964.

________. The Social System. Paperback edition. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, A Division of The Macmillan Company, The Crowell-Collier Publishing Company, 1964. (Originally published by The Free Press in 1951.)

________. Structure and Process in Modern Societies. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1964.

________, Bales, Robert F., and collaborators. Family, Socialization and Interaction Process. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1955.

________, Bales, Robert F., and Shils, Edward A. Working Papers in the Theory of Action. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1953.

________, and Shils, Edward A. (eds.). Toward a General Theory of Action. Paperback edition. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, Harper Torchbooks, The Academy Library, 1962. (First published in 1951 by Harvard University Press.)

________, Shils, Edward A., Naegele, Kaspar D., and Pitts, Jesse R. (eds). Theories of Society: Foundations of

Modern Sociological Theory. 2 vols. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., A Division of the Crowell-Collier Publishing Company, 1961.

________, and Smelser, Neil J. *Economy and Society*. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, A Division of The Macmillan Company, The Crowell-Collier Publishing Company, 1956.

Polanyi, Michael. *Personal Knowledge: Towards a Post-Critical Philosophy*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1958.

Roe, Anne. *The Psychology of Occupations*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1956.

Tönnies, Ferdinand. *Community and Society* [*Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*]. Translated and edited by Charles P. Loomis. New York: Harper Torchbooks, The Academy Library, Harper & Row, Publishers, 1963. (Copyright, The Michigan State University Press, 1957.)

Wach, Joachim. *Sociology of Religion*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944.

Weber, Max. *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. Vol. I of *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie*. Trans. Talcott Parsons. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1930.

________. *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*. Trans. A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons. Edited with an introduction by Talcott Parsons. New York: The Free Press, A Division of The Macmillan Company, The Crowell-Collier Publishing Company, 1964. (Copyright 1947 by Oxford University Press, New York, Inc.).

Whitehead, Alfred North. *Science and the Modern World*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1925.

Wilson, Logan, and Kolb, William L. *Sociological Analysis: An Introductory Text and Case Book*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1949.

Znaniecki, Florian. *The Social Role of the Man of Knowledge*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1940.

Articles, Periodicals, and Reports

Cohn, Werner. "Social Status and the Ambivalence Hypothesis: Some Critical Notes and a Suggestion," *American Sociological Review*, XXV, No. 4 (August, 1960), pp. 508-513.

Davis, Kingsley. "A Conceptual Analysis of Stratification," *American Sociological Review*, VII, No. 3 (June, 1942), pp. 309-321.

———, and Moore, Wilbert E. "Some Principles of Stratification," *American Sociological Review*, X (April, 1945), pp. 242-249.

Dubin, Robert. "Parsons' Actor: Continuities in Social Theory," *American Sociological Review*, XXV, No. 4 (August, 1960), pp. 457-466.

Fallding, Harold. "A Proposal for the Empirical Study of Values," *American Sociological Review*, XXX, No. 2 (April, 1965), pp. 223-233.

Goode, William J. "Norm Commitment and Conformity to Role-Status Obligations," *The American Journal of Sociology*, LXVI, No. 3 (November, 1960), pp. 246-258.

———. "A Theory of Role Strain," *American Sociological Review*, XXV, No. 4 (August, 1960), pp. 483-496.

Mack, Raymond W. "Occupational Ideology and the Determinate Role," *Social Forces*, XXXVI (October, 1957), pp. 37-44.

National Opinion Research Center. "Jobs and Occupations: A Popular Evaluation," *Opinion News*, IX (September 1, 1947), pp. 3-13. (Reprinted in Merton, R., and Lipset, S. M. (eds.). *Class, Status and Power*. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1953.)

Parsons, Talcott. "Pattern Variables Revisited: A Response to Robert Dubin," *American Sociological Review*, XXV, No. 4 (August, 1960), pp. 467-483.

Simpson, Richard L. "A Modification of the Functional Theory of Social Stratification," *Social Forces*, XXXV (December, 1956), pp. 132-137.

Smigel, Erwin O. "Trends in Occupational Sociology in the United States: A Survey of Postwar Research," *American Sociological Review*, XIX, No. 4 (August, 1954), pp. 398-404.

Tumin, Melvin M. "Some Principles of Stratification: A Critical Analysis," *American Sociological Review*, XVIII (August, 1953), pp. 387-394.

II. Authority

Books

Anson, Harold. *Authority in Religion*. New York: The Century Co., 1929.

Bendix, Reinhard. *Work and Authority in Industry: Ideologies* *of Management in the Course of Industrialization*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1956.

Benne, Kenneth D. *A Conception of Authority: An Introductory Study*. ("Teachers College, Columbia University Contributions to Education," No. 895.) New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1943.

Forsyth, P. T. *The Principle of Authority in Relation to Certainty, Sanctity and Society: An Essay in the Philosophy of Experimental Religion*. New York and London: Hodder and Stoughton, n.d.

Friedrich, Carl (ed.). *Nomos I: Authority*. Cambridge, Mass.: Published by Harvard University Press for The American Society of Political and Legal Philosophy, 1958.

Harrison, Paul M. *Authority and Power in the Free Church Tradition: A Social Case Study of the American Baptist Convention*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1959.

Hartmann, Heinz. *Funktionale Autorität: Systematische Abhandlung zu einem soziologischen Begriff*. ("Soziologische Gegenwartsfragen," Neue Folge; Herausgegeben von E. Boettcher, L. Neundörfer, H. Schelsky.) Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke Verlag, 1964.

Huizinga, A.v.C.P. *Authority: The Function of Authority in Life and Its Relation to Legalism in Ethics and Religion*. Boston: Sherman, French & Company, 1911.

Johnson, Robert Clyde. *Authority in Protestant Theology*. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1959.

Macdonald, A. J. *Authority and Reason in the Early Middle Ages*. London: Oxford University Press, 1933.

Martineau, James. *The Seat of Authority in Religion*. 5th ed. London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1905.

Mullins, Edgar Young. *Freedom and Authority in Religion*. Philadelphia: The Griffith & Rowland Press, 1913.

Oman, John. *Vision and Authority: Or the Throne of St. Peter*. New and revised ed. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1929.

Rowlinson, A. E. J. *Authority and Freedom*. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1924.

Sabatier, Auguste. *Religions of Authority: And the Religion* *of the Spirit*. Trans. Louise Seymour Houghton. New York: McClure, Phillips & Co., 1904.

Simon, Yves. *Nature and Functions of Authority*. Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1940.

Slattery, Charles Lewis. *The Authority of Religious Experience*. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1912.

Sterrett, J. Macbride. *The Freedom of Authority: Essays in Apologetics*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1905.

Williams, R. R. *Authority in the Apostolic Age: With Two Essays on the Modern Problem of Authority*. London: SCM Press, Ltd., 1950.

III. Professions

A. General Works

Books

Blauch, Lloyd E. (ed.). *Education for the Professions*. Washington, D.C.: United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1955.

Brubacher, John S., and Rudy, Willis. *Higher Education in Transition: An American History: 1636-1956*. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1958.

Carmichael, Oliver C. *The Changing Role of Higher Education*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1949.

Carr-Saunders, A. M. *Professions: Their Organization and Place in Society*. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1928.

_______, and Wilson, P. A. *The Professions*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933.

Goode, William J., Merton, Robert K., and Huntington, Mary Jane. *The Professions in American Society*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1957.

Henry, Nelson B. (ed.). *Education for the Professions: The Sixty-first Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*. Part II. Chicago: NSSE, Distributed by The University of Chicago Press, 1962.

Inter-Professions Conference on Education for Professional Responsibility. *Education for Professional Responsibility*. Pittsburgh: Carnegie Press, 1948.

Landis, Benson Y. *Professional Codes*. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1927.

Lewis, Roy, and Maude, Angus. *Professional People*. London: Phoenix House, Ltd., 1952.

McGlothlin, William J. *The Professional Schools*. New York: The Center for Applied Research in Education, Inc., 1964.

McGrath, Earl J. *Liberal Education in the Professions* New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1959.

________, and Russell, C. H. *Are Liberal Arts Colleges Becoming Professional Schools?* New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1958.

Rashdall, Hastings. *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*. 3 volumes. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1895.

Articles, Periodicals, and Reports

Adams, James Luther. *The Social Import of the Professions*. An address given at the Twenty-First Biennial Meeting of The American Association of Theological Schools, Boston University School of Theology, June 17-20, 1958.

Becker, Howard S., and Casper, James. "The Development of Identification with an Occupation," *The American Journal of Sociology*, LXI (January, 1956), pp. 289-298.

Bucher, Rue, and Strauss, Anselm. "Professions in Process," *The American Journal of Sociology*, LXVI, No. 4 (January, 1961), pp. 325-334.

Cogan, Morris L. "The Problem of Defining a Profession," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, CCXCVII (January, 1955), pp. 105-111.

________. "Toward a Definition of Profession," *Harvard Educational Review*, XXIII (Winter, 1953), pp. 33-50.

Cooke, Morris L. "Professional Ethics and Social Change," *The American Scholar*, XV (1946), pp. 487-497.

Flexner, Abraham. "Is Social Work a Profession?", in *Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction*, pp. 576-590. Chicago: Hildmann Printing Co., 1915.

Goode, William J. "Community Within a Community: The Professions," *American Sociological Review*, XXII, No. 2 (April, 1957), pp. 194-200.

________. "Encroachment, Charlatanism, and the Emerging Profession: Psychology, Sociology, and Medicine," *American Sociological Review*, XXV, No. 6 (December, 1960), pp. 902-914.

Hiltner, Seward, *et al*. "The Essentials of Professional Education," *Journal of Higher Education*, XVI (1955), pp. 94-103.

Hughes, Everett C. "The Professions in Society," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, XXVI (February, 1960), pp. 54-61.

Kadushin, Charles. "Social Distance Between Client and Professional," *The American Journal of Sociology*, LXVII, No. 5 (March, 1962), pp. 517-531.

Landis, Benson Y. (ed.). *Ethical Standards and Professional Conduct*. Vol. CCXCVII (January, 1955) of *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. Edited by Thorsten Sellin. Philadelphia: The American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1955.

Marshall, T. H. "The Recent History of Professionalism in Relation to Social Structure and Social Policy," *The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, V (August, 1939), pp. 325-334.

McWilliams, W. Carey. "The Marks of a Profession," *Chapel and College* (Spring, 1963), pp. 9-17.

"The Professions," *Daedalus: Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, XCII, No. 4 (Fall, 1963).

Wilensky, Harold L. "The Professionalization of Everyone?", *The American Journal of Sociology*, LXX (September, 1964), pp. 136-142.

B. Specific Professions

Books

Ashford, Mahlon (ed.). *Trends in Medical Education*. New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1941.

Barnard, Chester. *The Functions of the Executive*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1938.

Barzun, Jacques. *Teacher in America*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1940.

Becker, Howard S., Geer, Blanche, Hughes, Everett C., and Strauss, Anselm L. Boys in White: Student Culture in Medical School. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1961.

Bowers, Warner F. Interpersonal Relationships in the Hospital. Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, Publisher, 1960.

Caplow, Theodore, and McGee, Reece J. The Academic Marketplace. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1958.

Carter, Richard. The Doctor Business. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1958.

Davidson, Maurice (ed.). Medical Ethics: A Guide to Students and Practitioners. London: Lloyd-Luke (Medical Books) Ltd., 1957.

Deitrick, John E., and Berson, Robert C. Medical Schools in the United States at Mid-Century. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1953.

Doherty, Robert E. The Development of Professional Education: The Principles Which Have Guided the Reconstruction of Education at Carnegie Institute of Technology 1936-1950. Pittsburgh: Carnegie Press, Carnegie Institute of Technology, 1950.

Fabricant, Noah D. Why We Become Doctors. New York: Grune and Stratton, 1954.

Fishbein, Morris. A History of the American Medical Association, 1847 to 1947. Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Company, 1947.

Garland, Joseph, and Stokes, Joseph, III (eds.). The Choice of a Medical Career: Essays on the Fields of Medicine. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1961.

Garrison, F. H. History of Medicine. Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Company, 1929.

Gregg, A. For Future Doctors. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957.

Gross, Neal, Mason, Ward S., and McEachern, Alexander W. Explorations in Role Analysis: Studies of the School Superintendency Role. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1958.

Hammond, K. R., and Kern, F., Jr. Teaching Comprehensive Medical Care: A Psychological Study of a Change in Medical Education. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959.

Harvard University. Committee on the Objectives of a General Education in a Free Society. General Education in a Free Society. Report of the Harvard Committee, with an Introduction by James Bryant Conant. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1952.

Hofstadter, Richard, and Metzger, Walter P. The Development of Academic Freedom in the United States. New York: Columbia University Press, 1955.

Horowitz, Milton J. Educating Tomorrow's Doctors. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts Division of Meridith Publishing Company, 1964.

Irwin, Mary (ed.). Higher Education in the United States: A Special Reprint of Parts I and II and Appendixes IV and VI of the Eighth Edition (1960) of American Universities and Colleges. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education.

Jaco, E. Gartly (ed.). Patients, Physicians, and Illness. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1958.

Justman, J., and Mais, W. H. College Teaching: Its Practice and Its Potential. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1956.

Kerr, Clark. The Uses of the University. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963.

Lazarsfield, Paul F., and Thielens, Walter, Jr. The Academic Mind. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1958.

McGrath, Earl J. The Graduate School and the Decline of Liberal Education. New York: Bureau of Publication, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1959.

Merton, Robert K., Reader, George G., M.D., and Kendall, Patricia L. (eds.). The Student-Physician: Introductory Studies in the Sociology of Medical Education. Cambridge, Mass.: Published for The Commonwealth Fund by Harvard University Press, 1957.

Miller, George E. (ed.). Teaching and Learning in Medical School. Cambridge, Mass.: Published for The Commonwealth Fund by Harvard University Press, 1961.

Millett, Fred B. Professor: Problems and Rewards in College Teaching. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1961.

Riesman, David. Constraint and Variety in American Education. Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 1956.

Rugg, H. The Teacher of Teachers. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1952.

Sanford, Nevitt (ed.). *The American College: A Psychological and Social Interpretation of the Higher Learning*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1962. (Prepared for the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues.)

_______ (ed.). *College and Character: A Briefer Version of The American College*. Abridged by the authors and with a new concluding chapter by the editor. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1964.

Selznick, Philip. *Leadership in Administration*. Evanston: Row, Peterson, 1957.

Shryock, Richard H. *The Development of Modern Medicine*. New York: A. A. Knpft, 1948.

Wilson, Logan. *The Academic Man: A Study in the Sociology of a Profession*. London, New York, Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1942.

Woodburne, Lloyd S. *Faculty Personnel Policies in Higher Education*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950.

Articles, Periodicals, and Reports

Adams, Stuart. "Trends in Occupational Origins of Physicians," *American Sociological Review*, XVIII (August, 1953), pp. 404-409.

Becker, Howard S. "The Teacher in the Authority System of the Public School," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, XXVII (November, 1953), pp. 125-141.

Blegen, Theodore C., and Cooper, Russell M. (eds.). *The Preparation of College Teachers*. Report of a Conference Held at Chicago, Illinois, December 8-10, 1949, Sponsored by the American Council on Education and the U.S. Office of Education. (Series I. Reports of Committees and Conferences, Vol. XIV, No. 42, July, 1950.) Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1950.

Brody, Irwin. "The Decision to Study Medicine," *New England Journal of Medicine*, CCLII (1955), pp. 130-134.

Clausen, John A., and Straus, Robert (eds.). *Medicine and Society*. Vol. CCCXLVI (March, 1963) of *The Annals of the American Academy of Political Science*. Edited by Thorsten Sellin. Philadelphia: The American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1963.

Gottlieb, David. "Process of Socialization in American Graduate Schools," *Social Forces*, XL (January, 1962), pp. 124-131.

Miller, G. "Some Differences Among Medical Schools and Medical Students," *Journal of Medical Education*, XXXIII, Parts 2, 3 (1958).

More, Douglas M. "A Note on Occupational Origins of Health Service Professions," *American Sociological Review*, XXV, No. 3 (June, 1960), pp. 403-404.

_______, and Kohn, Nathan, Jr. "Some Motives for Entering Dentistry," *The American Journal of Sociology*, LXVI (July, 1960), pp. 48-53.

Shryock, Richard H. "The Academic Profession in the United States," *Bulletin of the American Association of University Professors*, XXXVIII (1952), pp. 32-70.

IV. Church and Ministry

Books

Berger, Peter. *The Noise of Solemn Assemblies*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1961.

Bonhoeffer, Dietrich. *Ethics*. Edited by Eberhard Bethge. Trans. Neville Horton Smith. New York: The Macmillan Company, The Library of Philosophy and Theology, 1962.

_______. *Letters and Papers from Prison*. Edited by Eberhard Bethge. London: Fontana Books, S.C.M. Press, 1953.

Bridston, Keith R., and Culver, Dwight W. *Pre-Seminary Education: Report of the Lilly Endowment Study*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1965.

_______ (eds.). *The Making of Ministers: Essays on Clergy Training Today*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1964.

Brunner, Emil. *The Misunderstanding of the Church*. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1953.

Buber, Martin. *I and Thou*. Trans. Ronald Gregor Smith. 2nd ed., paperback. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, The Scribner Library, 1958.

Campbell, Ernest Q., and Pettigrew, Thomas F. *Christians in Racial Crisis; A Study of Little Rock's Ministry*. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1959.

Clark, Henry. *The Church and Residential Desegregation: A Case Study of an Open Housing Covenant*. New Haven: College and University Press, 1965.

Coburn, John B. Minister: Man-in-the-Middle. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1963.

Dittes, James E. Vocational Guidance of Theological Students: A Manual for the Use of the Theological School Inventory. Dayton, Ohio: The Ministry Studies Board, 1964.

Fairchild, Roy W., and Wynn, John Charles. Families in the Church: A Protestant Survey. New York: Association Press, 1961.

Fichter, Joseph H. Religion as an Occupation: A Study in the Sociology of Professions. South Bend, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1961.

_______. Social Relations in the Urban Parish. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1954.

Gore, Charles. The Church and the Ministry. New ed., rev. C. H. Turner. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1919.

Grimes, Howard. The Rebirth of the Laity. New York: Abingdon Press, 1962.

Gustafson, James M. Treasure in Earthen Vessels: The Church as a Human Community. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1961.

Hofmann, Hans (ed.). Making the Ministry Relevant. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1960.

Jenkins, Daniel. The Protestant Ministry. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1958.

_______. Tradition, Freedom, and the Spirit. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1951.

Johnson, F. Ernest, and Ackerman, J. Emory. The Church as Employer, Money Raiser, and Investor. New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1959.

Johnson, Robert Clyde (ed.). The Church and Its Changing Ministry. Philadelphia: Office of the General Assembly, The United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, 1961.

Kirk, Kenneth E. (ed.). The Apostolic Ministry: Essays on the History and the Doctrine of Episcopacy. London: Hodder & Stoughton, Limited, 1946.

Kraemer, Hendrick. A Theology of the Laity. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1958.

Le Clerq, Jacques. The Religious Vocation. New York: J. P. Kenedy, 1955.

Lee, James Michael, and Putz, Louis J., C.S.C. (eds.). Seminary Education in a Time of Change. Notre Dame: Fides Publishers, Inc., 1965.

Lenski, Gerhard. The Religious Factor: A Sociological Study of Religion's Impact on Politics, Economics, and Family Life. Rev. ed. Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1963.

Manson, T. W. The Church's Ministry. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1948.

May, Mark A., in collaboration with Brown, William Adams, Shuttleworth, Frank K., Jacobs, Jesse A., and Feeney, Charlotte V. The Education of American Ministers. 3 volumes. New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1934.

Neal, Sister Marie Augusta, S.N.D. Values and Interests in Social Change. ("Prentice-Hall Contemporary Problems in Sociology Series," John D. Donovan, editor.) Paperback. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1965.

Neill, Stephen Charles, and Weber, Hans-Ruedi (eds.). The Layman in Christian History: A Project of the Department on the Laity of the World Council of Churches. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1963.

Niebuhr, H. Richard. Christ and Culture. New York: Harper Torchbooks, Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1951.

________. The Meaning of Revelation. Paperback ed. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1960.

________. The Social Sources of Denominationalism. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1929.

________, and Williams, Daniel Day (eds.). The Ministry in Historical Perspectives. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1956.

________, in collaboration with Williams, Daniel Day, and Gustafson, James M. The Purpose of the Church and Its Ministry: Reflections on the Aims of Theological Education. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1956.

Oates, Wayne E. (ed.). The Minister's Own Mental Health. Great Neck, N.Y.: Channel Press, Inc., 1961.

Paul, Robert S. Ministry. Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1965.

Raines, Robert A. New Life in the Church. New York: Harper, 1961.

Reimers, David M. *White Protestantism and the Negro*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1965.

Robinson, John A. T. *Honest to God*. London: SCM Press Ltd., 1963.

________. *On Being the Church in the World*. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1960.

Smith, James Ward, and Jamison, A. Leland (eds.). *The Shaping of American Religion*. Vol. I of *Religion in American Life*. ("Princeton Studies in American Civilization," No. 5.) Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1961.

Smith, Ronald Gregor. *The New Man: Christianity and Man's Coming of Age*. London: SCM Press Ltd., 1963.

Spann, J. Richard (ed.). *The Ministry*. New York and Nashville: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1949.

Tillich, Paul. *The Protestant Era*. Trans. James Luther Adams. Paperback, abridged edition. Chicago: Phoenix Books, University of Chicago Press, 1957.

Underwood, Kenneth Wilson. *Protestant and Catholic: Religious and Social Interaction in an Industrial Community*. Boston: The Beacon Press, 1957.

Veuillot, Pierre. *The Catholic Priesthood: According to the Teaching of the Church--Papal Documents from Pius X to Pius XII*. Trans. John A. O'Flynn, L.S.S. Westminster, Md.: The Newman Press, 1958.

Wagoner, Walter D. *Bachelor of Divinity: Uncertain Servants in Seminary and Ministry*. New York: Association Press, 1963.

Wentz, Frederick K. *The Layman's Role Today*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1963.

Williams, Colin. *Where in the World?* New York: National Council of Churches, 1963.

Winter, Gibson. *The Suburban Captivity of the Churches*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1962.

Articles, Periodicals, and Reports

Blizzard, Samuel W. "The Minister's Dilemma," *Christian Century*, LXXIII (April 25, 1956), pp. 508-510.

________. "The Protestant Parish Minister's Integrating

Roles," Religious Education, LIII (July, 1958), pp. 374-380.

Chapman, Stanley H. "The Minister: Professional Man of the Church," Social Forces, XXIII (December, 1944), pp. 202-206.

Coates, Thomas. The Making of a Minister: The Training of Ministers in the Missouri Synod: A Historical Study and Critical Evaluation. Portland, Oregon: Concordia College, n.d. (Mimeographed.)

Conference on Motivation for the Ministry, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky, 1959. Transcript of Discussions. Louisville, Ky.: Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1959.

Department of the Laity of the World Council of Churches, The. Laity. No. 15 (May, 1963).

Hammond, Phillip E., and Mitchell, Robert E. "Segmentation of Radicalism--The Case of the Protestant Campus Minister," The American Journal of Sociology, LXXI, No. 2 (September, 1965), pp. 133-143.

Harvey, Van A. "On Separating Hopes from Illusions: Reflections on the Future of the Ministry," motive, XXVI, No. 2 (November, 1965), pp. 4-6.

Moore, James B. "Why Young Ministers are Leaving the Church," Harper's, CCXV (July, 1952), pp. 65-69.

Schreuder, Osmund. "Le caractère professionel du sacerdoce," Social Compass, XII, Nos. 1-2 (1965), pp. 5-19.

Smith, Luke M. "The Clergy: Authority Structure, Ideology, Migration," American Sociological Review, XVIII, No. 3 (June, 1953), pp. 242-248.

APPENDIX

THE DANFORTH MINISTRY SURVEY

PURDUE UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
LAFAYETTE, INDIANA

Dear Clergyman:

The Fifties have been characterized as a period of religious revival in America. The Sixties may well come to be thought of as a decade of revived interest of study and research into the meaning of religious behavior. Several significant studies of religion have been initiated during the first half of this decade, and everywhere there is evidence of an increasing dialogue between religionists and sociologists regarding the nature and meaning of religious behavior in America.

In 1963 The Danforth Foundation launched a comprehensive study of the campus ministries in America under the directorship of Professor Kenneth Underwood, Chairman of the Public Affairs Center at Wesleyan University. The objective of this study is to understand more clearly the nature and meaning of Protestantism's post-war effort to develop a high quality, specialized ministry to institutions of higher education. Professor Underwood realized, however, that the Church's efforts to minister to the university could not be understood unless they were viewed in the total perspective of the Christian ministry in our society.

Early in the Spring of 1964 Professor Underwood asked me to assist in the development of a research instrument that could be used to explore the beliefs, values, and activities of Protestant ministers. During the past eight months over one hundred sociologists, theologians, campus and parish ministers have assisted Professor Underwood and myself in the development of such an instrument. You and over 10,000 other campus and parish ministers now have the result in your hands. We hope that you will cooperate with this study by completing the questionnaire and returning it at your earliest convenience.

Your response to this questionnaire is anonymous. The purpose of the code number on this page is to permit us to send follow-up letters to persons who do not return the questionnaire. When you return the questionnaire, a clerk will record the fact that it has been received, and then the code identification will be destroyed. No one will examine the questionnaire until this identification has been destroyed.

We would like to thank you for your time and thoughtful consideration in responding to the questionnaire. We hope that in filling it out you come to share some of the enthusiasm we have for the potential of this instrument for understanding the Protestant ministry in relation to higher education and to American society at large.

Sincerely,

Jeffrey K Hadden

Jeffrey K. Hadden, Ph.D.

INSTRUCTIONS

1. Most of the items in this questionnaire are attitude, belief, or evaluative statements to which you are asked to agree or disagree. For each item we ask you to indicate the position on a six point scale that most nearly represents your own view by circling the appropriate number. If you **strongly** disagree or agree with a statement, you should respond by circling 1 or 6 respectively. Rankings of 2 and 5 mean that you disagree or agree with the statement, but you do not feel as strongly about these statements as those you circled 1 and 6. Rankings of 3 and 4 are almost neutral, but 3 means you **probably** do not agree with the statement and 4 means you **probably** do agree with the statement.

2. We emphasize that these middle positions are almost neutral. They should be used for those statements which you do not think are very relevant or important for you, and for those statements on which you are not sure how you stand. In the latter case, we ask you **not** to ponder over the statement, but to give your immediate reaction. There are likely to be several such items, and if you stop to ponder each, the time it will take to complete the questionnaire is likely to become excessive. This, in turn, decreases the chances that we will get a completed questionnaire from you.

3. **Please answer all questions.** If you wish to modify or explain an answer, make a note to that effect in the margin next to the question, but still mark the answer that comes closest to being your answer.

4. We invite your comments on the questionnaire in general or to specific questions. Individual reaction to the questionnaire constitutes an important aspect of our analysis. However, we ask that you complete the questionnaire and return it at your earliest convenience. In order to proceed with our analysis on schedule, we need your completed questionnaire now. We can make use of your comments even if they are not received for several months.

5. The small numbers in the margins and next to the answer categories have been placed there to increase the efficiency and reliability of electronic data processing. Just disregard them in answering questions.

6. While the length of this questionnaire is admittedly long, answering the questions actually goes very quickly. In our pretests of this instrument, some ministers were able to complete it in an hour. The average time, however, was about an hour and a half.

7. When you have completed the questionnaire, place it in the return envelope that has been provided. No postage is necessary. If you would like a copy of the questionnaire for your files, we will be pleased to send you one upon request.

PART I. **Religious Beliefs**

The statements in this first section describe various views toward the nature of God, the way the Diety is known, and the relationship between faith and the contemporary world. For each statement please indicate the position which most nearly represents your own view by circling the appropriate number following the instructions on the inside cover.

	Definitely Disagree				Definitely Agree		01
1. What a man believes about God doesn't matter a great deal as long as he leads a life of concern for others.	1	2	3	4	5	6	1
2. The essence of religious truth is more personal than doctrinal.	1	2	3	4	5	6	2
3. Only in Christianity is the one true God revealed and confessed.	1	2	3	4	5	6	3
4. The Christian style of life is one of contentment with one's worldly possessions, forebearance toward others, and certainty of eternal life.	1	2	3	4	5	6	4
5. The Christian church can only be its true self as it exists for humanity.	1	2	3	4	5	6	5
6. Intercessory prayer has no efficacy, except for some possible influence on the petitioner himself.	1	2	3	4	5	6	6
7. I believe in a literal or nearly literal interpretation of the Bible.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. I don't feel Jesus to be the Son of God any more than all men are children of God.	1	2	3	4	5	6	8
9. The most reliable way to judge whether a certain action is good or bad is to consider the consequences.	1	2	3	4	5	6	9
10. Nothing of real value can be accomplished without suffering.	1	2	3	4	5	6	10
11. Man by himself is incapable of anything but sin.	1	2	3	4	5	6	11
12. Ambiguity and uncertainty as to what one is to believe and do are signs of faithlessness and indifference to God.	1	2	3	4	5	6	12
13. The church should be a place of refuge and of quiet reflection away from the world.	1	2	3	4	5	6	13
14. Hell does not refer to a special location after death, but to the experience of self-estrangement, guilt, and meaninglessness in this life.	1	2	3	4	5	6	14
15. I accept Jesus' physical resurrection as an objective historical fact in the same sense that Lincoln's physical death was a historical fact.	1	2	3	4	5	6	15
16. I have greater admiration for an honest agnostic seeking truth than a man who is certain that he has the complete truth.	1	2	3	4	5	6	16
17. My understanding of the central doctrines of the Christian faith has changed considerably during my ministry.	1	2	3	4	5	6	17
18. The primary mission of the church is to save sinners.	1	2	3	4	5	6	18
19. The mission of the church is to bring new awareness of the possibilities of life and to prepare people to serve the world.	1	2	3	4	5	6	19
20. The primary task of the church is to live the Christian life among its own membership and activities rather than to try and reform the world.	1	2	3	4	5	6	20
21. The church must speak to the great social issues of our day, or else its very existence is threatened.	1	2	3	4	5	6	21
22. My relationship to God is immediate and direct, having little to do with my feeling of identity with the church.	1	2	3	4	5	6	22
23. I would expect a thinking Christian to have doubts about the existence of God.	1	2	3	4	5	6	23
24. Following completely rigid moral rules may cause more harm than good.	1	2	3	4	5	6	24
25. There can be no love of God apart from compassion for one's fellow man.	1	2	3	4	5	6	25
26. Christ's coming into the world represents for me a radical break from what men knew about God before his coming.	1	2	3	4	5	6	26
27. There was a distinct occasion or period in my life when I made a definite decision to become vitally committed to God.	1	2	3	4	5	6	27
28. Belief in God eases the pain of decision-making.	1	2	3	4	5	6	28

	Definitely Disagree					Definitely Agree	
29. God can only be talked about by analogy or in various pictures or imagery.	1	2	3	4	5	6	29
30. For Christ to be really present in the sacraments, the Christian must believe that He is present.	1	2	3	4	5	6	30
31. As one whose life is dedicated to serving the Lord and trained to do so, I often feel that my work is frustrated by too many overseers.	1	2	3	4	5	6	31
32. For the Christian, the Bible has a primacy over all other sources of knowledge of God.	1	2	3	4	5	6	32
33. Jesus was more concerned with others than with the truth of a belief.	1	2	3	4	5	6	33
34. The Vatican Council appears to make possible a more ecumenical witness to the Gospel.	1	2	3	4	5	6	34
35. I believe in a divine judgement after death where some shall be rewarded and others punished.	1	2	3	4	5	6	35
36. The corporate body of the church, not the individual, should be charged with the responsibility to discern the nature of the call and the ordaining of a minister.	1	2	3	4	5	6	36
37. A vivid or dramatic inner experience of a special call to the ministry should be the controlling factor in deciding whether a man possesses the requisite qualifications for ordination to the ministry.	1	2	3	4	5	6	37
38. The discipline and training of the mind is more important than the experience of a dramatic inner call to the ministry.	1	2	3	4	5	6	38
39. Private prayer is one of the most important and satisfying activities in my daily life.	1	2	3	4	5	6	39
40. We need greater emphasis on the joy and delight which comes from living in this world rather than on joy to be found after death.	1	2	3	4	5	6	40
41. Miracles happen more often than most people realize.	1	2	3	4	5	6	41
42. The church should be taking a much more active role in the struggle for world peace.	1	2	3	4	5	6	42
43. Norman Vincent Peale's positive thinking is the kind of religion quite often present in my own sermons.	1	2	3	4	5	6	43
44. Men can live creative lives in the world without believing in Jesus Christ and without despair or guilt over rejection of such belief.	1	2	3	4	5	6	44
45. I find it often very difficult to discern God's will and presence.	1	2	3	4	5	6	45
46. Scriptures are the inspired and inerrant Word of God not only in matters of faith but also in historical, geographical and other secular matters.	1	2	3	4	5	6	46
47. An understanding of the language of myth and symbol are as important for interpreting biblical literature as history and archaeology.	1	2	3	4	5	6	47
48. The Old Testament is not really an essential part of the Christian Bible.	1	2	3	4	5	6	48
49. As described in Revelation, Christ and his saints will historically rule the earth during the millenium.	1	2	3	4	5	6	49
50. There should be a stricter observance of the Sabbath, the religious day of rest.	1	2	3	4	5	6	50
51. For the Christian, God is both revealed and hidden in the words and acts of Jesus.	1	2	3	4	5	6	51
52. I do not find the concept of the Trinity to be very meaningful.	1	2	3	4	5	6	52
53. There is no longer any need for God as a working hypothesis in morals, politics, science, or religion, and in the name of intellectual honesty such working hypotheses should be dropped.	1	2	3	4	5	6	53
54. I think of God more as a merciful helper and friend rather than as the powerful majestic King.	1	2	3	4	5	6	54
55. Churches are often built for the glorification of the men who build them.	1	2	3	4	5	6	55
56. Young people abandon religion because Christians fail to provide clear-cut positive answers to their doubts and moral confusions.	1	2	3	4	5	6	56
57. The church is holy, and not to be equated with other human institutions.	1	2	3	4	5	6	57

		Definitely Disagree					Definitely Agree	
58.	A non-institutional Christianity is impossible.	1	2	3	4	5	6	58
59.	There is no special or divine significance associated with particular institutional forms and structures of the church.	1	2	3	4	5	6	59
60.	Everyone who is baptized is a member of the church and no one else is.	1	2	3	4	5	6	60
61.	Religious institutions often show indifference to human suffering.	1	2	3	4	5	6	61
62.	Being a part of the community of forgiven sinners is as important a dimension of the Christian life as the assurance of my personal forgiveness.	1	2	3	4	5	6	62
63.	Organized religion is the one sure infallible foundation of life.	1	2	3	4	5	6	63
64.	I believe that the virgin birth of Jesus was a biological miracle.	1	2	3	4	5	6	64
65.	God always answers our prayers, although the answers may not always be those we desire.	1	2	3	4	5	6	65
66.	The central theological issue today is justification through grace by faith alone.	1	2	3	4	5	6	66
67.	The cross of Jesus Christ is the central act of God in history, for in that event Jesus vicariously atoned for man's sin.	1	2	3	4	5	6	67
68.	I feel that Jesus was a great man and very holy, but I don't feel Him to be the Son of God any more than all men are the Children of God.	1	2	3	4	5	6	68
69.	The spiritual healing of Oral Roberts is a modern example of the supernatural presence of God in this world.	1	2	3	4	5	6	69
70.	I find it difficult to accept the doctrine of the physical resurrection of Christ.	1	2	3	4	5	6	70
								02
71.	People outside the church often respond more quickly to needs of people in the world than do church members.	1	2	3	4	5	6	1
72.	I am no longer certain of many of the doctrines I once thought were central to the Christian faith.	1	2	3	4	5	6	2
73.	Everyone should believe in and practice some religon.	1	2	3	4	5	6	3
74.	Christian theology has over-emphasized the evil of man and has neglected the goodness of the created world—including man.	1	2	3	4	5	6	4
75.	Heaven and hell are not geographical places but concern relationships with God both here and hereafter.	1	2	3	4	5	6	5
76.	There is no moral rule which can be applied in every situation.	1	2	3	4	5	6	6
77.	The church is often the place where many of us make our last ditch stand against God.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
78.	Billy Graham is one of the best interpreters and spokesmen for the Christian faith.	1	2	3	4	5	6	8
79.	I understand the Resurrection of Jesus as a symbol of God's sovereignty over both death and life.	1	2	3	4	5	6	9
80.	Adam and Eve were individual historical persons.	1	2	3	4	5	6	10
81.	We must try to translate the language of biblical faith into meaningful contemporary symbols because biblical faith is not rigid doctrine.	1	2	3	4	5	6	11
82.	I do not like to put intercessory petitions or prayers for the sick in my worship services.	1	2	3	4	5	6	12
83.	Local ministers would be more effective if they had less supervision by regional and national denominational officials.	1	2	3	4	5	6	13
84.	The meaning of the Incarnation is that God can be known in the relationships between men.	1	2	3	4	5	6	14
85.	Christ is really present in the Eucharist of Holy Communion of the church...	1	2	3	4	5	6	15
86.	Theology is the proper task not of individuals, but of the whole corporate body of the church—laity as well as clergy.	1	2	3	4	5	6	16
87.	There is probably as much blasphemy in the pulpit on Sunday mornings as in taverns on Saturday nights.	1	2	3	4	5	6	17

	Definitely Disagree					Definitely Agree	
88. Many loyal church goers are using religion as an escape from their responsibilities in the world.	1	2	3	4	5	6	18
89. I expect to live after death.	1	2	3	4	5	6	19
90. I believe in the demonic as a personal power in the world.	1	2	3	4	5	6	20
91. No Christian should claim that his official responsibilities, for example as a businessman or politician, justify actions which he would not take as an individual.	1	2	3	4	5	6	21
92. People should do what is morally right without giving thought to the consequences.	1	2	3	4	5	6	22
93. Christianity helps people by reconciling them to death and suffering.	1	2	3	4	5	6	23
94. I find it increasingly difficult to believe in God.	1	2	3	4	5	6	24
95. The pastor has a special authority to transmit blessings and to forgive sins.	1	2	3	4	5	6	25
96. Salvation in the Christian sense refers to the possibility of living a fully human life, rather than to a life after death.	1	2	3	4	5	6	26
97. Mystery is a quality I experience in the common things of life as much as the uncommon.	1	2	3	4	5	6	27
98. The faith of the Christian protects him from suffering, doubt, or fear that he might have to endure if he was not a Christian.	1	2	3	4	5	6	28
99. Whether Jesus was or was not born of a virgin is not very important to my religious beliefs.	1	2	3	4	5	6	29
100. An ethical decision which may be right in one situation may be wrong in another situation.	1	2	3	4	5	6	30
101. The Vatican Council represents the discovery—although somewhat late—of what Protestants have been saying all along.	1	2	3	4	5	6	31
102. Creeds and practices of churches are likely to be marks of irreligion as well as religion.	1	2	3	4	5	6	32
103. I don't think it is as important to worry about life after death as about what one can do in this life.	1	2	3	4	5	6	33
104. There is no Christian support for novelists and dramatists who see the world as absurd, idiotic, and sick.	1	2	3	4	5	6	34
105. Much of the traditional religious language (such as "Heavenly Father" or "Salvation") is not very meaningful to me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	35
106. I believe that the principal value of prayer is that it provides a psychological outlet for pent-up emotions.	1	2	3	4	5	6	36
107. Every area of man's life is corrupted by sin.	1	2	3	4	5	6	37
108. God's creation is continuous and the world is still in the making.	1	2	3	4	5	6	38
109. I believe Christ was identified and recognized by his disciples after his death, but this does not necessitate a corporal appearance.	1	2	3	4	5	6	39
110. Christian ethics involves a faith in redemptive love in race and international relations, and is not to be equated with the proximate justice achieved through the compromising of vested interests.	1	2	3	4	5	6	40
111. Sin is primarily the infraction of God's law.	1	2	3	4	5	6	41
112. Our world is changing so fast that a person has to act in terms of circumstances confronting him rather than expecting absolute guidance from the past.	1	2	3	4	5	6	42
113. I consider legal restriction on business activity on the Sabbath to be desirable.	1	2	3	4	5	6	43
114. In worship I prefer to lead Christians in celebrating God's creation rather than in petition for forgiveness of their sins in a fallen world.	1	2	3	4	5	6	44
115. The amount of success or effectiveness a clergyman has in his church is generally proportionate to the amount of effort he expends.	1	2	3	4	5	6	45

Admittedly, there are difficulties associated with describing oneself in terms of broad theological positions. However, within the following categories, which of the following best describes your own theological positions at each point in your career? 46-49

	On Entering College	On Entering Seminary	On Leaving Seminary	Now
Fundamentalist	1	1	1	1
Conservative	2	2	2	2
Neo-orthodox	3	3	3	3
Liberal	4	4	4	4
Universalist-Unitarian	5	5	5	5
Other (Circle and Specify)__________	6	6	6	6

Following is a list of theologians. For each name please indicate (1) whether you have read one or more books by the person by placing a check mark in the box beside the name, and (2) the extent to which your own theological position agrees or disagrees with each person.

Have Read		Definitely Disagree			Not Familiar With			Definitely Agree	
☐	1. Karl Barth	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	50
☐	2. Louis Berkof	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	51
☐	3. Dietrich Bonhoeffer	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	52
☐	4. Edgar S. Brightman	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	53
☐	5. Emil Brunner	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	54
☐	6. Martin Buber	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	55
☐	7. Rudolf Bultmann	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	56
☐	8. Gerhard Ebeling	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	57
☐	9. Harry Emerson Fosdick	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	58
☐	10. Billy Graham	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	59
☐	11. Carl McIntire	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	60
☐	12. H. Richard Niebuhr	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	61
☐	13. Reinhold Niebuhr	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	62
☐	14. Warren H. Orcutt	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	63
☐	15. Norman Vincent Peale	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	64
☐	16. Francis Pieper	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	65
☐	17. John A. T. Robinson	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	66
☐	18. Joseph Sittler	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	67
☐	19. Paul Tillich	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	68
☐	20. Henry N. Wieman	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	69

PART II. Religion and Science

There is much concern today about the relation between science and religion. Below are a number of statements that reflect different orientations toward this problem. For each statement please circle the position that most nearly reflects your own view.

	Definitely Disagree				Definitely Agree		03
1. Man's knowledge of God comes wholly and exclusively from God in special revelation.	1	2	3	4	5	6	1
2. Christianity and science are completely compatible if properly understood.	1	2	3	4	5	6	2
3. The Christian is confined to no single method of gaining knowledge, but can make use of a plurality of methods relevant to the judgment to be made or the question under study.	1	2	3	4	5	6	3
4. The scientist's understanding of evolution is an important clue to the way God creates in the world.	1	2	3	4	5	6	4
5. Science is the most positive expression of Christianity that the world has seen.	1	2	3	4	5	6	5
6. Christian theology ought to demand clarification of its premises and as rigorous a scrutiny of its methods as science.	1	2	3	4	5	6	6
7. I heartily approve of efforts of science to create life.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. If the church is going to express God's love for man in the modern world, it will need to make use of specialized knowledge developed by scientists.	1	2	3	4	5	6	8
9. The impact of science demands that we carefully and critically re-examine every aspect of the Christian faith.	1	2	3	4	5	6	9
10. The supernatural power of God in the world is shown in those events for which there is no scientific explanation.	1	2	3	4	5	6	10
11. Many of the doctrines of the church have little relevance to the modern world.	1	2	3	4	5	6	11
12. Theology alone can provide an adequate basis for moral judgment.	1	2	3	4	5	6	12
13. Science has made it possible for people to turn away from preoccupation with mere survival toward issues of intellectual attainment, friendship, and participation in civic life.	1	2	3	4	5	6	13
14. Various disciplines other than theological and Biblical studies, such as sociology and psychology, may inform the Christian as to the nature of God's action in the world.	1	2	3	4	5	6	14
15. Science is a faith feeding false hopes to men.	1	2	3	4	5	6	15
16. Religiously significant knowledge cannot be understood by a social scientist who is not by personal conviction or method a convinced Christian.	1	2	3	4	5	6	16
17. Many scientific disciplines of the university are gaining exactitude at the expense of what is relevant and human.	1	2	3	4	5	6	17
18. The views of psychology and sociology that hold that men are not responsible for their behavior are fundamentally at odds with the Christian view of guilt and personal accountability.	1	2	3	4	5	6	18
19. There are serious limitations to the scientific method, particularly in respect to moral and religious questions.	1	2	3	4	5	6	19
20. Most students have been sold on the position that science has the answers to all human problems.	1	2	3	4	5	6	20
21. It is impossible for the sociologist to fully comprehend the meaning and significance of religion unless he is himself a member of the faith.	1	2	3	4	5	6	21
22. In the last analysis, human behavior is very unpredictable.	1	2	3	4	5	6	22
23. Most scientists pay lip service to the ideal of being value free in their work, but in reality are not really value free.	1	2	3	4	5	6	23
24. No matter what the possibilities for advancement of scientific knowledge are, human beings should never be experimented upon without their consent.	1	2	3	4	5	6	24
25. The Biblical account of creation provides us with the clearest evidence that Darwin's theory of evolution is wrong.	1	2	3	4	5	6	25

PART III. Religion and Higher Education

Another important contemporary problem is the relationship of religion to higher education. The following set of questions deal with the place of religion in higher education, the role of the campus minister, and the strategy of religious institutions toward higher education. For each item indicate the response that most nearly represents your own view by circling the appropriate number.

	Definitely Disagree					Definitely Agree	
1. Higher education in our society is the central place where Christians are engaged in study of and learning about the human needs and developments in all other institutions.	1	2	3	4	5	6	26
2. University professors are usually hostile to the Christian faith.	1	2	3	4	5	6	27
3. The presuppositions, values, and faith of faculty members influence their teaching, as much as similar factors influence the preaching and teaching of ministers.	1	2	3	4	5	6	28
4. The ideal of scientific objectivity or detachment falsifies the inevitably personal nature of all inquiry.	1	2	3	4	5	6	29
5. The pluralism of disciplines and religions in the university helps the student to see the limits of each.	1	2	3	4	5	6	30
6. The chief responsibility of college faculty should be to develop new knowledge in their own disciplines.	1	2	3	4	5	6	31
7. Knowledge should be sought in the university not simply for the sake of knowledge but for the improvement of human and public affairs.	1	2	3	4	5	6	32
8. Higher education in the United States has abdicated its responsibility of dealing with vital moral issues in its teaching and research.	1	2	3	4	5	6	33
9. Scientific knowledge is both subjective and objective; that is, it is gained by a responsible act of selecting tools and ordering data to establish contact with universal reality outside the self.	1	2	3	4	5	6	34
10. Campus ministers should have a Th.D. and be as well trained in theology as professors in colleges and universities are in their own disciplines.	1	2	3	4	5	6	35
11. Campus ministers should give more attention to educating faculty in theology, than to teaching and working with students.	1	2	3	4	5	6	36
12. Theology is a rational intellectual discipline and should be taught in the university as any other discipline.	1	2	3	4	5	6	37
13. The universities have become major sources of national policy for the major institutions in our society.	1	2	3	4	5	6	38
14. The campus ministries should be launching pads for wide ranging experimental educational programs.	1	2	3	4	5	6	39
15. The campus minister should seek to bring his students a program as nearly as possible like that of the student's home church.	1	2	3	4	5	6	40
16. Assignments in campus ministries should increasingly follow functional (e.g., assignment to academic disciplines and professional schools) rather than denominational lines, so that ministries are provided to the major structures of the university or college.	1	2	3	4	5	6	41
17. Campus ministers should give their chief attention to freshmen and other new students who are away from home and church ties for the first time.	1	2	3	4	5	6	42
18. Significant learning takes place only if the student knows that the teacher fully accepts and is seriously interested in him as a person.	1	2	3	4	5	6	43
19. A major purpose of campus ministries ought to be to keep students from being swept off their feet by the forces of secularization in the university.	1	2	3	4	5	6	44
20. One needs more formal educational preparation to be a competent campus minister than to serve a resident parish or congregation.	1	2	3	4	5	6	45
21. Campus ministers have less clarity as to their mission and more tensions than ministers in regular parish situations.	1	2	3	4	5	6	46
22. Small church related colleges provide more opportunity for interpersonal relations between students and faculty than large public universities.	1	2	3	4	5	6	47

	Definitely Disagree				Definitely Agree		
23. The campus minister should be primarily a professor of theology engaged in teaching and research.	1	2	3	4	5	6	48
24. For the most part, the campus ministry is a waste of time and denominational money.	1	2	3	4	5	6	49
25. Major programs and policies of the church in foreign missions, inner city work, and adult education should now be significantly shaped by knowledge and research from the colleges and universities.	1	2	3	4	5	6	50
26. The intellectual disciplines of the university have little or no bearing upon matters of faith.	1	2	3	4	5	6	51
27. The churches, in their approach to higher education, should concentrate their funds and professional personnel in the small, liberal arts, church related colleges.	1	2	3	4	5	6	52
28. Learning to get along with people should be the chief objective of higher education.	1	2	3	4	5	6	53
29. The next breakthrough in adult Christian education will come with campus ministers bringing faculty, students and lay adults together to study what can be done to meet serious public problems.	1	2	3	4	5	6	54
30. The universities are neglecting serious study of the moral choices which confront men in areas where we face major public problems.	1	2	3	4	5	6	55
31. A teacher can know nothing and care nothing about the personal background of a student outside of his interest in the teacher's own field of knowledge, and still teach the student well.	1	2	3	4	5	6	56
32. The humanities are producing disproportionate numbers of dilettantes and vague generalists in comparison with the sciences.	1	2	3	4	5	6	57
33. A person who does not believe in God should not be allowed to teach in a denominational college or university.	1	2	3	4	5	6	58
34. The best place for ministers who feel themselves prepared and interested in teaching the Word of God would be the college or seminary and not the local church.	1	2	3	4	5	6	59
35. It is more important for the churches to support systematic research into religion and its significance for contemporary problems than to build more student centers.	1	2	3	4	5	6	60
36. The campus minister should be free from denominational restraints in developing his program.	1	2	3	4	5	6	61
37. Teaching is one of the most important activities of my ministry.	1	2	3	4	5	6	62
38. The first responsibility of a campus minister is that of keeping in touch with the spiritual needs of students of his own denomination.	1	2	3	4	5	6	63
39. The campus ministry is in general a "frill" in the church, a program designed for college students who are perhaps already the most pampered group in America.	1	2	3	4	5	6	64
40. A principle task of the campus minister should be to help students discover a new meaning of God that is relevant for the modern world.	1	2	3	4	5	6	65
41. Religion can be taught and studied with objectivity and fairness comparable to that of other disciplines.	1	2	3	4	5	6	66
42. Liberals, who significantly distort the meaning of the Christian faith, have captured a very large percentage of the campus ministry positions of my denomination.	1	2	3	4	5	6	67
43. Theology is primarily a discipline of the church and proceeds by confession and witness to personal belief.	1	2	3	4	5	6	68
44. Campus ministers would be more effective if they were more concerned with evangelism and winning souls for Christ and less concerned with "making religion relevant to the modern world."	1	2	3	4	5	6	69
45. The campus minister's teaching is different from the university professor's in that the minister makes clear that he is committed to one faith rather than another, and that he hopes to persuade others of the truth of his faith.	1	2	3	4	5	6	70

PART IV. Counseling

Many ministers are involved in one form of counseling or another. In this section we would like to know something about your own attitudes toward and experience with counseling. The first set of items are to be answered in the same manner as the items in the first three parts. These are followed by a few questions that, for the most part, can be answered by making a check in the appropriate answer box.

	Definitely Disagree					Definitely Agree	04
1. As a counselor, a minister should be non-judgmental, reflecting what the layman says so that he better sees himself.	1	2	3	4	5	6	1
2. Ministers would probably do a better job counseling if they put away their psychology books and turned to God for His guidance.	1	2	3	4	5	6	2
3. My training as a counselor is often woefully inadequate for many of the types of problems I am called upon to help with.	1	2	3	4	5	6	3
4. As much as possible, I try to refer emotionally disturbed cases to someone who is better qualified than I to deal with the problem.	1	2	3	4	5	6	4
5. I would welcome the opportunity to learn more about psychology and counseling.	1	2	3	4	5	6	5
6. Most people with problems need a deeper and better faith rather than a psychiatrist.	1	2	3	4	5	6	6
7. One important contribution the church can make to society is to provide laymen with opportunities for discussions where they can "blow off steam," confess their failures to one another.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. A faith in God will cure most mental illness if that faith is strong enough.	1	2	3	4	5	6	8
9. If a minister cannot solve his own mental problems, he cannot help others solve theirs.	1	2	3	4	5	6	9
10. Worry about career and social status problems cause most of the mental breakdowns that do occur.	1	2	3	4	5	6	10
11. I sometimes feel that I should seek the help of a psychiatrist or psychologist.	1	2	3	4	5	6	11
12. Anguish and loneliness may be characteristic of responsible moral action, not mental illness.	1	2	3	4	5	6	12
13. When personal guilt is the crucial problem, the practice of penance and confession may be more helpful than professional psychiatric aid.	1	2	3	4	5	6	13
14. The problem of guilt and sin is central in most mental illness.	1	2	3	4	5	6	14
15. A man can be devoutly religious and still become mentally ill.	1	2	3	4	5	6	15

1. Approximately what percent of your working time do you spend in some form of counseling? 16
   - 0☐ None, or almost none
   - 1☐ Less than 5%
   - 2☐ 5% - 10%
   - 3☐ 10% - 20%
   - 4☐ 20% - 35%
   - 5☐ 35% - 50%
   - 6☐ More than 50%

2. Over the past five years, have the demands on your time for counseling: 17
   - 0☐ Increased
   - 1☐ Remained about the same
   - 2☐ Decreased

3. During an average month, how many people would you estimate that you counsel with? ____________________ 18-20

4. The time you devote to counseling may not necessarily reflect the importance you attribute to this activity. Check the category below that best describes your own feeling regarding counseling. 21
   - 0☐ Little or no importance to my ministry.
   - 1☐ Some importance, but minor relative to other responsibilities.
   - 2☐ Rather important, but there are several more important aspects to my ministry.
   - 3☐ Ranks with several other activities as one of my more important responsibilities.
   - 4☐ One of my most important responsibilities.
   - 5☐ Definitely the most important aspect of my ministry.

5. **Have you received any formal training in guidance and counseling?** 22
0☐ **Yes**
1☐ **No**

5a. If yes, was this: (check as many as apply)
☐ **as an undergraduate** 23
☐ **in seminary** 24
☐ **in graduate training** 25
☐ **other (specify)** ______________________________ 26

Indicate courses, majors, degrees, or nature of training in counseling. (Be as specific as possible.) 27-36

____

____

____

6. **Assume someone came to you who in your judgment had very serious emotional or psychic disturbances. Please rank order your preference for handling this person. Let "1" stand for your most preferred way, "2" for your next choice, and "3" for your third choice.**
________ **Refer to a Christian psychiatrist or psychologist of my own denomination** 37
________ **Refer to a Christian psychiatrist or psychologist of another denomination** 38
________ **Refer to a Non-Christian psychiatrist or psychologist** 39
________ **Refer to a psychiatrist or psychologist of outstanding capability; even though he might not be a Christian** 40
________ **Handle the case myself** 41
________ **Other (specify)** ______________________________ 42

PART V. Social Issues

Much has been written by individual ministers about the vital social issues of our day. However, as a group, little is known about ministers' attitudes towards these vital issues. This section deals with a broad range of questions revolving around politics, economics, family life, civil rights, and church and state. For each statement, indicate the position that most nearly represents your own view by circling the appropriate number.

	Definitely Disagree					Definitely Agree	05
1. Bible reading and prayer for all students do not belong in public schools.	1	2	3	4	5	6	1
2. Use of government funds to provide transportation for denominational schools should be permitted as long as all religions are treated alike.	1	2	3	4	5	6	2
3. The use of government money to support religious organizations should be strictly forbidden.	1	2	3	4	5	6	3
4. I have some sympathy with the position that tax exemption for churches should be eliminated.	1	2	3	4	5	6	4
5. Federal funds should be provided to denominational colleges and universities on the same basis as they are provided to public universities, since both are involved in the important task of educating American youth.	1	2	3	4	5	6	5
6. Negroes would be better off if they would take advantage of the opportunities that have been made available rather than spending so much time protesting.	1	2	3	4	5	6	6
7. I basically disapprove of the Negro civil rights movement in America.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. The racial crisis in the U. S. would probably be much less serious if the Federal government had not intervened.	1	2	3	4	5	6	8
9. For the most part, the churches have been woefully inadequate in facing up to the civil rights issues.	1	2	3	4	5	6	9
10. I am in basic sympathy with northern ministers and students who have gone to the South to work for civil rights.	1	2	3	4	5	6	10
11. There is little hope of changing the segregationist feelings of whites in this country during the next generation.	1	2	3	4	5	6	11
12. The real obstacle to integration in this country is political leadership and not the people themselves.	1	2	3	4	5	6	12
13. Many whites pretend to be very Christian while in reality their racial attitudes demonstrate their lack of or misunderstanding of Christianity.	1	2	3	4	5	6	13
14. Negroes could solve many of their own problems if they would not be so irresponsible and carefree about life.	1	2	3	4	5	6	14

	Definitely Disagree					Definitely Agree	
15. The economic and psychological disabilities of the masses of Negroes become greater almost daily in the United States.	1	2	3	4	5	6	15
16. Freedom of speech should include the right for someone to make speeches against religion.	1	2	3	4	5	6	16
17. Publications that dwell on sex and use obscene language should be banned from the newsstand.	1	2	3	4	5	6	17
18. Congressional investigations into un-American activities are essential to our nation's security.	1	2	3	4	5	6	18
19. Students receiving any financial aid from the government should be required to swear that they are not members of the Communist party.	1	2	3	4	5	6	19
20. Censorship is often necessary in order to protect the public.	1	2	3	4	5	6	20
21. The free enterprise system is the single economic system compatible with the requirements of personal freedom and constitutional government.	1	2	3	4	5	6	21
22. The war against poverty can best be fought by the Federal Government leaving private enterprise alone so that they can create more jobs.	1	2	3	4	5	6	22
23. The government is providing too many services that should be left to private enterprise.	1	2	3	4	5	6	23
24. I am not nearly so concerned with the amount of power of the Federal Government as I am with the irresponsibility of many government officials.	1	2	3	4	5	6	24
25. Adequate medical care for the aged through some kind of governmental program is badly needed.	1	2	3	4	5	6	25
26. Most people who live in poverty could do something about their situation if they really wanted to.	1	2	3	4	5	6	26
27. I would tend to distrust the political judgments of a person who did not believe in Jesus Christ.	1	2	3	4	5	6	27
28. Ministers should not publicly indicate their views on political issues.	1	2	3	4	5	6	28
29. Any means must, if necessary, be used to preserve America from the menace of atheistic Communism.	1	2	3	4	5	6	29
30. There can never be a complete reduction in nuclear arms so long as there are Communist nations in the world.	1	2	3	4	5	6	30
31. If the Republicans had nominated a moderate or "mainstream" candidate for president I would have voted for the Republican candidate in the recent election.	1	2	3	4	5	6	31
32. The John Birch Society and other extremist groups constitute a grave threat to our society.	1	2	3	4	5	6	32
33. Red China should be admitted to the United Nations.	1	2	3	4	5	6	33
34. I believe that I am politically and economically more liberal than the majority of the members of my congregation.	1	2	3	4	5	6	34
35. I believe that there is at least a 50-50 chance of a nuclear war breaking out in the next ten years.	1	2	3	4	5	6	35
36. The identification of Goldwater with extremist groups during the recent election was nothing more than a great political smear by his opposition.	1	2	3	4	5	6	36
37. The philosophy of modern liberalism is leading to an alteration of family, morals, law and order.	1	2	3	4	5	6	37
38. A person who does not believe in God should not be permitted to hold public office.	1	2	3	4	5	6	38
39. The only real victory over Communism is total victory.	1	2	3	4	5	6	39
40. During the recent campaign I endorsed one of the presidential candidates from the pulpit or at some other religious gathering.	1	2	3	4	5	6	40
41. Most people will give you a hard time if you give them a chance.	1	2	3	4	5	6	41
42. In all human relations, men are involved in the control and manipulation of others, no matter how permissive they claim to be.	1	2	3	4	5	6	42

		Definitely Disagree					Definitely Agree	
43.	It is often who you know rather than what you knew that is important in getting ahead.	1	2	3	4	5	6	43
44.	Most people you meet want to get something out of you.	1	2	3	4	5	6	44
45.	Although never a totally satisfactory answer to family problems, divorce is sometimes the best solution.	1	2	3	4	5	6	45
46.	Women who engage in premarital sexual intercourse are almost certain to have serious emotional difficulties in marriage.	1	2	3	4	5	6	46
47.	The most rewarding thing a woman can do is to be a totally dedicated mother and wife.	1	2	3	4	5	6	47
48.	Parents are too easy on their children these days.	1	2	3	4	5	6	48
49.	College teachers and counselors are too lenient in advising students about premarital sex.	1	2	3	4	5	6	49
50.	Parents should give their children more direction than they do.	1	2	3	4	5	6	50
51.	Although popular views on sex have changed in the past quarter of a century, procreation is still the major purpose and intercourse between marital partners should be carried out with moderation.	1	2	3	4	5	6	51
52.	Women who really desire full-time careers should not marry because the roles of wife-mother and career woman are basically incompatible.	1	2	3	4	5	6	52
53.	The churches should initiate inquiries into the implications of Christian convictions for the relations of the sexes, not assuming that there is any actual consensus in the churches on sexual morality.	1	2	3	4	5	6	53
54.	It is conceivable that a particular situation could morally justify extra-marital relations.	1	2	3	4	5	6	54
55.	The primary meaning of sexual intercourse is that two individuals have made a total commitment to each other.	1	2	3	4	5	6	55
56.	For two people in our society to be totally committed to each other, they must acknowledge this with a marriage ceremony, rather than simply relying on a private commitment of love.	1	2	3	4	5	6	56
57.	Until the children are grown, a woman's place is in the home.	1	2	3	4	5	6	57
58.	The use of birth control should be governed only by the needs of the persons involved.	1	2	3	4	5	6	58
59.	I do not believe in spanking children. Rewarding proper behavior and setting a good example are always more effective.	1	2	3	4	5	6	59
60.	Birth control information should be available to all persons.	1	2	3	4	5	6	60
61.	It is always better to explain to a child why his behavior is wrong rather than to punish him.	1	2	3	4	5	6	61
62.	The changes in our society affecting sexual relations are so profound that old patterns of morality are not adequate for the future.	1	2	3	4	5	6	62
63.	The suburban churches have become a force for retreat from urban responsibilities and realities.	1	2	3	4	5	6	63
64.	Suburban people have enough community problems to meet without accepting any more economic and political burdens of the central city.	1	2	3	4	5	6	64
65.	The modern saints of the ministry are those who are staying in the central city.	1	2	3	4	5	6	65
66.	Christian education needs to bring laymen face to face with urban problems and propose solutions.	1	2	3	4	5	6	66
67.	I enjoy a ministry that is situated in the midst of a city where all types of activities go on in close proximity.	1	2	3	4	5	6	67
68.	The reason the Jews are having so much trouble is because God is punishing them for rejecting Jesus.	1	2	3	4	5	6	68
69.	I believe that a larger proportion of the Federal Government's budget should be allocated for public welfare expenditures such as schools, hospitals, parks, etc.	1	2	3	4	5	6	69
70.	Couples have a moral obligation to limit their family size to the number of children they can afford to care for.	1	2	3	4	5	6	70

PART VI. Professional Activities and Missions

The items in this section describe many of the activities that ministers frequently do. We would like for you to respond to each statement in terms of the enjoyment or personal satisfaction you gain from the activity, independent of the time you may devote to it. The same principle of response is followed here as in earlier sections, except you are responding in terms of liking or disliking an activity. Try to keep in mind that you are implicitly rating an activity against all other activities. Therefore, you should reserve the category 6 for those activities you **most** enjoy.

	Definitely Do Not Enjoy					Definitely Enjoy	06
1. Teaching children.	1	2	3	4	5	6	1
2. Leading public worship.	1	2	3	4	5	6	2
3. Ministering to the sick, dying, and bereaved.	1	2	3	4	5	6	3
4. Counseling with people facing the major decisions of life, e.g., marriage, vocation.	1	2	3	4	5	6	4
5. Fostering fellowship at church gatherings.	1	2	3	4	5	6	5
6. Teaching young people (i.e., junior high and high school)	1	2	3	4	5	6	6
7. Talking with individuals about their spiritual development.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. Visiting new residents and recruiting new members.	1	2	3	4	5	6	8
9. Supplying ideas for new activities and projects.	1	2	3	4	5	6	9
10. Working with congregational boards and committees.	1	2	3	4	5	6	10
11. Recruiting, training, and assisting lay leaders and teachers.	1	2	3	4	5	6	11
12. Managing the church office—records, correspondence, information center, etc.	1	2	3	4	5	6	12
13. Preaching sermons.	1	2	3	4	5	6	13
14. Following a definite schedule of reading and study.	1	2	3	4	5	6	14
15. Developing more effective adult teaching and study programs.	1	2	3	4	5	6	15
16. Teaching undergraduates and graduate students.	1	2	3	4	5	6	16
17. Playing the conciliator role, seeking to find points of harmony and agreement.	1	2	3	4	5	6	17
18. Promoting and creating enthusiasm for church activities.	1	2	3	4	5	6	18
19. Maintaining a disciplined life of prayer and personal devotion.	1	2	3	4	5	6	19
20. Helping manage church finances.	1	2	3	4	5	6	20
21. Administering Communion.	1	2	3	4	5	6	21
22. Teaching and working directly with adults.	1	2	3	4	5	6	22
23. Counseling with people about their moral and personal problems.	1	2	3	4	5	6	23
24. Participating in community projects and organizations.	1	2	3	4	5	6	24
25. Maintaining harmony, handling troublemakers, averting or resolving problems.	1	2	3	4	5	6	25
26. Organizing and helping groups who are victims of social neglect or injustice.	1	2	3	4	5	6	26
27. Speaking to community and civic groups.	1	2	3	4	5	6	27
28. Visiting regularly in the homes of the congregation.	1	2	3	4	5	6	28
29. Raising money for special church projects.	1	2	3	4	5	6	29
30. Winning a lost soul to Christ.	1	2	3	4	5	6	30
31. Participating in evangelistic meetings.	1	2	3	4	5	6	31

	Definitely Do Not Enjoy					Definitely Enjoy	
32. Ministering to the aged.	1	2	3	4	5	6	32
33. Helping people come to grips with the problems involved in the relationship between the Christian heritage and the modern scientific world.	1	2	3	4	5	6	33
34. Preparing sermons.	1	2	3	4	5	6	34
35. Organizing or administering local community projects.	1	2	3	4	5	6	35
36. Helping a young person make a decision to enter the ministry.	1	2	3	4	5	6	36
37. Privately encountering God through prayer.	1	2	3	4	5	6	37
38. Seeing a major building project to completion.	1	2	3	4	5	6	38
39. Giving theological interpretations of avant garde movies and other art forms.	1	2	3	4	5	6	39
40. Participating in state, regional, and national denominational activities.	1	2	3	4	5	6	40
41. Helping a person or family resolve a serious problem, whether it be spiritual, social, psychological, or economic.	1	2	3	4	5	6	41
42. Taking a firm stand on some issue confronting the life of the Church.	1	2	3	4	5	6	42
43. Reading the Holy Bible.	1	2	3	4	5	6	43
44. Discussing contemporary theological issues and viewpoints with educated persons.	1	2	3	4	5	6	44
45. Conducting a baptismal service.	1	2	3	4	5	6	45
46. Participating in a local ecumenical ministerial association.	1	2	3	4	5	6	46
47. Influencing the policies of organizations in my denomination.	1	2	3	4	5	6	47
48. Influencing the policies of major organizations or institutions in my community.	1	2	3	4	5	6	48
49. Teaching people to use their Bibles in personal meditations.	1	2	3	4	5	6	49
50. Spotting the key places in the community where decisions influencing our common life are being made and informing church members of this.	1	2	3	4	5	6	50
51. Creating an agenda for my supervisory or advisory boards which open up new ideas and programs for the church.	1	2	3	4	5	6	51
52. Participating in creating plans for improvement of city life.	1	2	3	4	5	6	52

How desirous are you of doing the following:

	Definitely Do Not Desire					Definitely Desirous	
1. Specialize in one particular aspect or role of the ministry, such as preacher, counselor, evangelist, etc.	1	2	3	4	5	6	53
2. Learn to balance and coordinate better the various roles of the minister (such as preacher, administrator, counselor), so as to become a sort of pastor director.	1	2	3	4	5	6	54
3. Be a theologian of the congregation, helping laymen to think theologically.	1	2	3	4	5	6	55
4. Obtain a teaching position in a college or seminary.	1	2	3	4	5	6	56
5. Be more concerned with the qualities of human experience commonly called secular than with manifestations of religion in creeds and church institutional structures.	1	2	3	4	5	6	57
6. Provide in the church greater opportunity for adult study and reflections.	1	2	3	4	5	6	58
7. Obtain a pastorate with a more liberal and progressive congregation.	1	2	3	4	5	6	59
8. Obtain more information as to what developments are taking place in education of significance to my congregation.	1	2	3	4	5	6	60
9. Find a ministry in which my role and functions are more clearly defined or established.	1	2	3	4	5	6	61

	Definitely Do Not Desire					Definitely Desirous	
10. Engage the adults of my congregation in a search for the concrete meaning of their Christian commitment for responsibilities in various aspects of their work and leisure.	1	2	3	4	5	6	62
11. Obtain a position that would provide more time for personal study.	1	2	3	4	5	6	63
12. Relocate in another parish.	1	2	3	4	5	6	64
13. Take advantage of opportunities to advance my own career.	1	2	3	4	5	6	65
14. Obtain more formal education or a sabbatical for personal study.	1	2	3	4	5	6	66
15. Receive a higher salary.	1	2	3	4	5	6	67
16. Be appointed as pastor to a large and prestigeful church.	1	2	3	4	5	6	68
17. Experiment with new worship forms, such as drama, jazz music, etc.	1	2	3	4	5	6	69

PART VII. **How You See Yourself**

In order to have a complete picture of Protestant ministers, it is important to know something about how they see themselves. It should be emphasized that we are interested in how **you see yourself,** not how you feel others may see you. Please respond to each item in terms of the same principle used above.

	Definitely Disagree					Definitely Agree	07
1. I make friends easily.	1	2	3	4	5	6	1
2. I usually act on the spur of the moment.	1	2	3	4	5	6	2
3. My moods seem to go up and down.	1	2	3	4	5	6	3
4. I take the lead in a group when it is necessary to get something done.	1	2	3	4	5	6	4
5. I often think of myself as a failure.	1	2	3	4	5	6	5
6. I enjoy intellectual pursuits.	1	2	3	4	5	6	6
7. I often feel that I have more problems than other people.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. I am not nice to people I don't like.	1	2	3	4	5	6	8
9. I don't get upset easily.	1	2	3	4	5	6	9
10. I enjoy reading books.	1	2	3	4	5	6	10
11. Sometimes I feel I am just no good.	1	2	3	4	5	6	11
12. When I am in a group that is discussing a problem, I do not do much of the talking.	1	2	3	4	5	6	12
13. I am often tense, even when there is no reason to be.	1	2	3	4	5	6	13
14. My interest shifts quickly from one thing to another.	1	2	3	4	5	6	14
15. People must often get the feeling that I am not well-adjusted.	1	2	3	4	5	6	15
16. Most people bore me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	16
17. I often feel blue or sad.	1	2	3	4	5	6	17
18. I find it difficult to concentrate on reading anything longer than a newspaper article.	1	2	3	4	5	6	18
19. I rarely get nervous.	1	2	3	4	5	6	19
20. I rarely think things out in detail before I act.	1	2	3	4	5	6	20
21. I am easy going, even under pressure.	1	2	3	4	5	6	21
22. I don't like discussions about serious problems or world affairs.	1	2	3	4	5	6	22
23. People think I am unpredictable in my moods.	1	2	3	4	5	6	23
24. I do not find it easy to speak publicly.	1	2	3	4	5	6	24
25. I am impulsive about most things.	1	2	3	4	5	6	25

	Definitely Disagree					Definitely Agree	
26. I get discouraged easily.	1	2	3	4	5	6	26
27. I am not good natured when someone is giving me a hard time.	1	2	3	4	5	6	27
28. When I am by myself, I often get depressed.	1	2	3	4	5	6	28
29. I enjoy planning work carefully before carrying it out.	1	2	3	4	5	6	29
30. I seem to withdraw in many situations when I should really be speaking up.	1	2	3	4	5	6	30
31. I have a great deal of self control.	1	2	3	4	5	6	31
32. Sometimes the deep personal guilt I feel is almost more than I can bear.	1	2	3	4	5	6	32
33. I frequently feel the anxiety of being alone and helpless in this world.	1	2	3	4	5	6	33
34. My hardest battles are with myself.	1	2	3	4	5	6	34
35. I hardly ever reveal my innermost feelings to others.	1	2	3	4	5	6	35
36. If something important needs to be done, I don't mind breaking a few rules or raising a few eyebrows to do it.	1	2	3	4	5	6	36
37. I seem quite incapable of having good friends without getting emotionally involved in their troubles.	1	2	3	4	5	6	37
38. I like to have a definite course of action in my ministry rather than be vacillating among several possibilities.	1	2	3	4	5	6	38
39. It is better to keep on with the present methods of doing things than to take a way that might lead to chaos.	1	2	3	4	5	6	39
40. I experience moments of great exultation and great despair in my ministry.	1	2	3	4	5	6	40

Generally, I . . .

	Does Not Describe Me					Describes Me Well	
1. am very active.	1	2	3	4	5	6	41
2. am friendly.	1	2	3	4	5	6	42
3. am intelligent.	1	2	3	4	5	6	43
4. am very tense.	1	2	3	4	5	6	44
5. am interested in getting things done.	1	2	3	4	5	6	45
6. am authoritarian.	1	2	3	4	5	6	46
7. am pleasant.	1	2	3	4	5	6	47
8. am rational and logical.	1	2	3	4	5	6	48
9. get upset easily.	1	2	3	4	5	6	49
10. pay attention to the task.	1	2	3	4	5	6	50
11. do most of the talking.	1	2	3	4	5	6	51
12. am likeable.	1	2	3	4	5	6	52
13. am clearminded.	1	2	3	4	5	6	53
14. am nervous.	1	2	3	4	5	6	54
15. accept responsibilities.	1	2	3	4	5	6	55
16. am assertive.	1	2	3	4	5	6	56
17. support others.	1	2	3	4	5	6	57
18. am mature.	1	2	3	4	5	6	58
19. am emotional.	1	2	3	4	5	6	59
20. am conscientious.	1	2	3	4	5	6	60

PART VIII. Personal Background Information

Finally, we would like to have just a few items of background information about yourself, your family, your job, etc. Please be as accurate as possible and please do not leave any questions blank. 08

1. **Your age:** ________ 1-2

2. **Your sex:** 3
   - 0☐ **Male**
   - 1☐ **Female**

3. **Your race:** 4
   - 0☐ **White**
   - 1☐ **Negro**
   - 2☐ **Other (specify)** ______________________

4. **Your marital status:** 5
   - 0☐ **Married**
   - 1☐ **Single**
   - 2☐ **Widowed**
   - 3☐ **Separated**
   - 4☐ **Divorced**

IF MARRIED:

4a. When did you marry? ______________ ______________
month year

4b. Is this your only marriage?
- 0☐ **Yes**
- 1☐ **No**

4c. How many children do you have? __________

4d. What are their birth dates?

	MONTH	YEAR
1.	______________	______________
2.	______________	______________
3.	______________	______________
4.	______________	______________
5.	______________	______________
6.	______________	______________
7.	______________	______________

5. **What is (was) your father's occupation? (Be as specific as possible.)**

____

6. **Which of the following general categories best describes your father's occupation?** 6
   - 0☐ **Manager, Official, or Proprietor of Large Business**
   - 1☐ **Professional (non-minister)**
   - 2☐ **Minister**
   - 3☐ **Manager, Official, or Proprietor of Small Business**
   - 4☐ **Government Civil Service Employee**
   - 5☐ **Farm Owner, or Farm Manager**
   - 6☐ **Craftsman, Technical Worker, or Foreman**
   - 7☐ **Sales Worker**
   - 8☐ **Clerical Worker**
   - 9☐ **Unskilled Laborer**

7. **How do you think the general social standing of your father's occupation compares with the social standing of your own occupation?** 7
   - 0☐ **Father's occupation was much lower socially**
   - 1☐ **Father's occupation was somewhat lower socially**
   - 2☐ **Father's occupation about the same socially**
   - 3☐ **Father's occupation was somewhat higher socially**
   - 4☐ **Father's occupation was much higher socially**

8. **How many children did your parents have counting yourself?** ______________ 8-9

9. **What was your birth order? (i.e., were you the first child, second child, etc.)** ______________ 10-11

10. **What was the highest educational attainment for the following:** 12-14

	Father	**Mother**	**Spouse**
8th grade or less	0☐	0☐	0☐
Some high school	1☐	1☐	1☐
High school graduate	2☐	2☐	2☐
Some college	3☐	3☐	3☐
Bachelor's degree	4☐	4☐	4☐
Master's degree	5☐	5☐	5☐
Doctor's degree	6☐	6☐	6☐
Not Married			7☐

11. **What was the approximate size of the community you lived in during most of your childhood?** 15

- 0☐ **Farm or rural community less than 2,500**
- 1☐ **2,500 - 10,000**
- 2☐ **10,000 - 25,000**
- 3☐ **25,000 - 50,000**
- 4☐ **50,000 - 250,000**
- 5☐ **250,000 - 500,000**
- 6☐ **500,000 or more**

12. **What is the highest educational level you attained?** 16

- 0☐ **High school graduation or less**
- 1☐ **Some college or post high school training**
- 2☐ **Bible school training**
- 3☐ **College graduation**
- 4☐ **Some college plus full three-year seminary**
- 5☐ **College graduation plus some seminary**
- 6☐ **College graduation plus graduation from three-year seminary**
- 7☐ **College and seminary graduation, plus additional graduate work**

13. **Degrees held, including undergraduate:**

College, University, Seminary	**Degree**	**Date Awarded**	**Field in which Degree granted**

14. **What was the total cash salary you received last year, and in addition, any "anniversary" or "appreciation" gifts? (If you serve more than one parish, include total income, but do not include allowances such as gas mileage.)**

$________________Cash salary, last year 17-19

$________________"Anniversary" or "appreciation" gifts 20-22

$________________Total cash income last year 23-25

15. **Do you have other sources of income such as your wife's employment, inheritance, endowment, investments, etc.?** 26

- 0☐ **Yes**
- 1☐ **No**

15a. If yes, what is the approximate annual amount of these other sources: $________________ 27-29

16. **Are you presently provided with a parsonage or housing allowance?** 30

- 0☐ **Yes**
- 1☐ **No**

16a. If yes, what is the approximate rental value of the parsonage per year (include utilities if paid by the church), or what is the amount of the housing allowance? $________________ 31-33

17. **During the past year, how many of the following activities did you participate in? (Check as many as apply.)**
- ☐ **I discussed political issues with friends.** 37
- ☐ **I attended or listened to speeches and discussion programs dealing with national and international problems at least once a month.** 38
- ☐ **I followed national and international events in the newspapers daily and the magazines weekly.** 39
- ☐ **I read one or more books about politics.** 40
- ☐ **I signed a petition for or against some legislation.** 41
- ☐ **I wrote a letter or sent a telegram to a public official.** 42
- ☐ **I contributed money to some political cause or group.** 43
- ☐ **I collected money for some political cause or group.** 44
- ☐ **I voted in the last national election.** 45
- ☐ **I participated in the activities of a political group.** 46
- ☐ **I ran for or held an elective office during the past five years.** 47

18. **Do you usually consider yourself as:** 50
- 0☐ **Republican**
- 1☐ **Independent**
- 2☐ **Democrat**

19. **In the recent election did you favor:** 51
- 0☐ **Goldwater**
- 1☐ **Johnson**

20. **Approximately how large is the community in which you currently reside?** 52
- 0☐ **Farm or rural community less than 2,500**
- 1☐ **2,500 - 5,000**
- 2☐ **5,000 - 10,000**
- 3☐ **10,000 - 25,000**
- 4☐ **25,000 - 50,000**
- 5☐ **50,000 - 250,000**
- 6☐ **250,000 - 500,000**
- 7☐ **500,000 - 1,000,000**
- 8☐ **1,000,000 or more**

20a. **Is this community a suburb of a larger metropolitan center?** 53
- 0☐ **Yes**
- 1☐ **No**

21. **What region of the country do you currently reside in?** 54
- 0☐ **East - Northeast**
- 1☐ **Midwest**
- 2☐ **South**
- 3☐ **West**

22. **Are you ordained?** 55
- 0☐ **Yes**
- 1☐ **No**

22a. **If yes, what year were you ordained?** ____________ 56-57

23. **In total, how many years have you been in the ministry?** ____________ 58-59

24. **How long have you served in your current position?** ____________ 60-61

25. **What is the total number of ministerial positions you held prior to the present one?** ____________ 62-63

26. **Have you ever considered leaving the ministry for some other vocation?** 64
- 0☐ **Yes, very seriously**
- 1☐ **Yes, but not seriously**
- 2☐ **The thought has occurred to me, but I can't say I've really considered leaving the ministry.**
- 3☐ **No, definitely not**

PARISH MINISTERS (If you have no duties as a parish minister, please skip to question No. 36.) 09

27. **What is the average attendance at Sunday morning worship in your church?** ____________ 1-4

28. **How many persons do you have on your active church rolls?** ____________ 5-8

29. **What is your annual church budget? $**____________ 9-12

30. **How much does your church give annually to support home and foreign missions? $**____________ 13-15

31. **How much does your church give annually to support campus ministries? $**____________ 16-18

32. Is your parish located near a college or university?

0☐ Yes 19

1☐ No

32a. If yes, what is the average number of students in attendance on an average Sunday morning in which the college or university is in session? ____________________ 20-22

33. During the past two years have you ever invited campus ministers to describe the intellectual and moral trends in higher education with parents so that they will better understand what is happening to their children? 23

0☐ Yes

1☐ No

34. During the past two years have you ever invited a campus minister to speak with pre-college youth about the possibilities of higher education and the criteria for choice of schools? 24

1☐ Yes

2☐ No

35. Which of the following categories best describes the occupational background of the members of the church you currently serve? 25

0☐ The majority are professional and managerial.

1☐ The majority are salaried white collar workers, but there are also a considerable number of professional and managerial people.

2☐ The majority are salaried white collar workers, but there are also a considerable number of blue collar workers.

3☐ The majority are blue collar workers, but there are some white collar, professional, and managerial people.

4☐ The membership is predominately blue collar.

5☐ None of the above. My church draws membership about equally from all occupational groups.

CAMPUS MINISTERS (If any aspect of your normal ministerial duties involves working with students in higher education, please complete this section.)

36. What is the nature of your current employment? 26

0☐ Full time campus minister serving one campus.

1☐ Full time campus minister serving two or more campuses.

2☐ Ecclesiastically appointed chaplain to college or university.

3☐ University or college appointed chaplain.

4☐ Local pastor with at least ¾ time devoted to campus ministry.

5☐ Local pastor with ¼ to ¾ time devoted to campus ministry.

6☐ Local pastor with ¼ time or less devoted to campus ministry.

7☐ Other (specify) ____________________

37. Number of full time students in the college or university you serve: (If you serve more than one campus, please report for the campus on which you serve most time.) 27

0☐ Less than 500

1☐ 500 - 1,000

2☐ 1,000 - 1,500

3☐ 1,500 - 4,000

4☐ 4,000 - 7,500

5☐ 7,500 - 10,000

6☐ 10,000 - 15,000

7☐ 15,000 and over

38. What is the highest academic degree offered by the college or university you serve? 28

0☐ Diploma (Jr. College)

1☐ Professional or Trade

2☐ Bachelor's

3☐ Master's

4☐ Doctor's

39. What is the type of school you serve? 2

0☐ Private with significant denominational tie

1☐ Private with nominal denominational tie

2☐ Private non-denominational

3☐ State teachers college

4☐ Municipal college or university

5☐ State college or university

Other (specify) ____________________

40. Sex of the undergraduate student body: 30
- 0☐ Coed
- 1☐ Male
- 2☐ Female

41. Approximately how many students are there on the campus(es) where you work who are members of the denomination(s) which support your work? (If no data, please estimate.) ____________ 31-33

42. Approximately how many students participate in some way in the ministry in which you are engaged? ________ 34-36

43. How many students are regularly and actively involved in some facet of your campus ministry? ____________ 37-39

44. How many times during the past three months have you seen members of the faculty or administration of the school(s) you serve in relation to issues such as student problems, health services, speaker advice, etc? 40
- 0☐ None
- 1☐ One
- 2☐ Two
- 3☐ Three
- 4☐ Four
- 5☐ Five
- 6☐ Six to Nine
- 7☐ Ten to Twenty
- 8☐ Twenty or More

45. How many times in the past three months have you engaged in intellectually oriented discussions with members of the faculty of the school(s) you serve about the relation of the Christian faith to the academic enterprise? 41
- 0☐ None
- 1☐ One
- 2☐ Two
- 3☐ Three
- 4☐ Four
- 5☐ Five
- 6☐ Six to Nine
- 7☐ Ten to Twenty
- 8☐ Twenty or More

46. How many members of the faculty of the school(s) you serve have seen you in a counseling situation in relation to their personal or intellectual problems in the past three months? 42
- 0☐ None
- 1☐ One
- 2☐ Two
- 3☐ Three
- 4☐ Four
- 5☐ Five
- 6☐ Six to Nine
- 7☐ Ten to Twenty
- 8☐ Twenty or More

47. How would you evaluate the problems you encounter in the financial support of your ministry? 43
- 0☐ A most serious problem, taking 50% or more of my time and energy.
- 1☐ A major problem, taking 25-49% of my time and energy.
- 2☐ A considerable problem, taking 10-24% of my time and energy.
- 3☐ A minor problem, taking less than 10% of my time and energy.
- 4☐ No problem, as others bear this responsibility.

Other (specify) ______________________________

48. How many years have you been in the campus ministry? ____________ 44-45

49. How many campus ministry positions have you held? ____________ 46-47

50. Do you intend to remain in the campus ministry? 48
- 0☐ Yes, indefinitely
- 1☐ Yes, for a while at least
- 2☐ Uncertain
- 3☐ No, want to do something else eventually
- 4☐ No, want to get out in near future

You have now completed the questionnaire. Before placing the questionnaire in the return envelope, would you please go back over the questions quickly to see that they are all answered and in accord with their directions? **We sincerely appreciate your attention and cooperation.**

If you have any comments you would like to make about the questionnaire, please use this space.